


POLAND

HER PEOPLE, HISTORY, INDUSTRIES,
SCIENCE, ART, LITERATURE AND
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT &



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POLAND

HER PEOPLE, HISTORY, INDUSTRIES,
FINANCE, SCIENCE, LITERATURE,
ART, AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

WITH NUMEROUS MAPS

(An authorised English version of "Petite
Encyclopédie Polonaise" edited by Erasmus Piltz
and compiled by E. Woroniecki, S. S. Zaleski,
and J. Perłowski).

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POLAND

THE POLISH NATION
FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS
BY
THE POLISH NATION
IN THE POLISH NATION
AND COMPILED BY A. W. WILSON, A. & J. WILSON
AND J. WILSON

THE POLISH NATION
A. WILSON, A. & J. WILSON
LONDON

PREFACE

THE object of this Polish Handbook is to furnish the public with concise information concerning Poland at a moment when the future of Europe is being decided by the Great War. We have tried to place before the reader an account, short but as complete as possible, not only of Poland's historic past but of her present, of her material and moral forces, of her unquenchable energy : in short, of all that proves her fitness for, and right to, liberty.

All political tendency is excluded from this work. We have put forward no programme, no plan for the solution of the Polish Question. We believe that, by observing the most complete objectivity, by allowing figures and facts to speak for themselves, we are serving our country in the most effective manner.

Having set out to deal with the life of a people numbering 26 million souls, we have not confined our studies of that people within its ethnographic limits, nor within the arbitrary frame of existing political or administrative divisions. We have carried our researches over all the territories of the ancient Republic, both where the Polish inhabitants form a majority and also where, though represented by minorities, the Polish people nevertheless play an important part as factors in the social and economic life of the country. We have omitted no Polish group of any importance in so far as it has preserved a consciousness of its nationality, and has participated in the moral existence of the motherland. Thus we have included in our sum total the half million Polish workmen established in the heart of Germany; the four million of our countrymen who live in the United States of America; and all the important Polish colonies scattered throughout the world.

We should observe that it is not the Poland of the present moment, ravaged by the most devastating war ever known, which is the object of our study. Our book offers a picture

of the country such as it was on the eve of the cataclysm of 1914, and we interrupt at that date the narrative of its political vicissitudes. We would beg the reader, when in the course of the following pages he becomes acquainted with the situation of Poland before the war, and realises the extremely distressing conditions under which the country existed during the last century, to remember that we are dealing here neither with the present nor the future, but only with a painful past which, we firmly hope, has gone for ever.

From the first moment of the outbreak of hostilities, it became evident to the eyes of the whole world that the hour of Poland's resurrection had struck. Peoples and governments, friends and foes alike, admitted it spontaneously, and the Polish nation fervently believes it. Animated by an indestructible faith which has never abandoned it, even in the most tragic moments, the whole nation expects to see a Poland, re-united and free, take its place once more among the other nations; not only because its cause is just, but also and above all because an equitable solution of the Polish question alone can guarantee the collective interests of a new Europe, based on the principles of justice and the liberty of peoples.

An exact knowledge of the Polish question is thus indispensable for any adequate appreciation of the essential problems which the Great War has to solve.

We would call the attention of the reader to the exceedingly difficult conditions under which our work has been performed. We have had to do it in Switzerland, in time of war, far from the intellectual centres of our country, far from its scientific organisations, archives and libraries. All communication with Poland was fraught with extreme difficulty. We would ask the reader to take this into consideration and excuse us for not having treated certain subjects with the fulness which they deserve. In any case, we have aimed throughout at rigorous exactitude, and we hope that this will be recognised.

In putting this small Polish Handbook into the hands of those who are seeking to know Poland, I must express my warmest thanks to all the experts, men of letters, and specialists who have helped in the publication of our work,

and in particular to E. WORONIECKI, to whom is due the greater part of the editorial work and the composition of the first and third parts; to S. S. ZALESKI, author of all the articles on economics, emigration, and the labour question; and to J. PERLOWSKI, who has given important help in all the editorial work.

ERASMUS PILTZ.

Lausanne, August, 1916.

NOTE.—A Polish Encyclopoedia, on a much larger scale than the present volume is in course of preparation at Fribourg in Switzerland. The first of the three volumes, 700 pages, 8vo., which includes statistics, geography, and ethnography. as well as a complete picture of the economic life of Poland, will appear shortly. Although published separately, the two Encyclopoedias have a common origin. The Editorial Committee of the large **Polish Encyclopoedia** is composed of Count J. Zoltowski, President; Dr. J. Modzelewski, General Secretary, and the following Members of Committee: T. Estreicher, J. Wierusz-Kowalski, Professors at the University of Fribourg; C. Lutostanski, Editor of "The Polish Themis," of Warsaw; Erasmus Piltz, and S. S. Zaleski.

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CHAPTER I

THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS

Area. The Republic of Poland, at the time of the first partition (1772) covered an area of 735,000 sq. km., without counting the Duchy of Courland (28,000 sq. km.), which was, however, a Polish fief.

In order to determine the sum total of the countries where a Polish population exists it has been necessary to add to this area those ethnographical territories which, through dynastic combinations, were detached from the Republic and joined to other States. These are: the Duchy of Cieszyn (Teschen) in Austrian Silesia, the Regency of Opole (Oppeln) in Prussian Silesia, and also the region of the Mazurian Lakes (Regency of Olsztyn, or Allenstein in East Prussia) which have preserved their distinctively Polish character in spite of all the vicissitudes of their history. Of the above-mentioned territories, Russia, before the outbreak of the war in 1914, possessed 592,500 sq. km.; Austria-Hungary nearly 84,500 sq. km.; Prussia 80,000 sq. km.

Geographical Sketch. The territory of the ancient Republic of Poland, situated between the Carpathians and the Baltic, is from the geographical point of view in many respects unlike Central Europe, of which it forms a part, and still more unlike Eastern Europe, which, characterised by the Russian platform, is monotonous in aspect, and possesses a centrifugal river-system. Poland offers more analogy to Central and Western Europe, thanks to its Alpine claims, to its mountainous massifs, and to its littoral.

The great Alpine range of the Carpathians forms to the South a natural boundary. This range is divided into several distinct groups separated by passes easy of access. The western ridges, the Beskides, rise to a height of 1,725 metres at Babia Góra. The crystalline massif of the Tatra, the highest of the whole Carpathian chain, has a dozen

summits over 2,500 metres. (Gerlach 2,663m., Lomnica, 2,634m.). The most easterly group of the Galician Carpathians, called Czarnohora, is also above 2,000 metres in height.

A deep depression extends all along the base of these mountains. Drained by the upper course of the Vistula, the San, and the Dniester, it is known as the Galician depression. Beyond the Vistula and the San, the land rises rapidly to form the plateau of Lesser Poland, which to the south-east joins the plateau of Podolia, and the heights in the neighbourhood of Lwów (also known as Leopoldis and Lemberg). These plateaux, from 200 to 400 metres in height, end in the massif known as the Holy Cross Mountains (Lysa Gora) between Kielce and Sandomir. Another series of heights separates the central basin from the Baltic littoral. This is the morainic region of the Mazurian Lakes and of the Letto-Lithuanian plateau. The watersheds, which are not very clearly marked, are easily crossed. The aspect of these parts of ancient Poland, watered by streams which flow into the Black Sea is somewhat different: the characteristics of the Eastern platform begin to appear—it is a land of transition.

The Forests which formerly covered a great part of the country have given place to arable land, but there remain considerable stretches of forest in the Carpathians, in Lithuania, and in Polesia. They still shelter certain species of wild animals and game absent from other regions of Europe (the beaver, the lynx, the bison, the elk).

The soil ("czarnoziem") is very fertile in the Ruthenian provinces and in Lesser Poland, where in some parts the pleistocene alluvial deposit known as "loess" is to be found. In the rest of the country the arable land owes its formation to the decomposition of glacial detritus.

Hydrography. The watershed, from which the rivers flow into the Baltic and the Black Sea respectively, traverses the country in a diagonal line. The Baltic rivers are in great part navigable, as: the Odra (Oder, 860 km. in length), and its tributary the Warta; the Wisla (Vistula, 1,068 km.) with numerous tributaries (Nida, Pilica, Dunajec, San, Bug); the Niemen (878 km.), and lastly the Dzwina (Duna, 949 km.). The rivers which flow into the Black Sea

are less navigable, owing to their dangerous rapids. The most important is the Dnieper (2,073 km.) with its tributaries, the Berezyna and the Prypet. Then comes the Dniester (1,372 km.), with the Stryj, the Boh (773 km.) and the Prut.

Numerous lakes fill the hollows of the land in the zone of the glacial moraines between Poznan (Posen) and Witebsk. Their area rarely exceeds a few dozen square kilometres (Goplo, Wigry, Narocz).

Climate. The climate of Poland does not present any essential differences from that of Central Europe. Mean annual temperature: 5.5° to 9.0° . Mean temperature in January: 4.5° to 1.5° . Mean temperature in July: 17.0° to 20.5° . The average rainfall varies between 400 mm. and 600 mm. in the plains, and exceeds 1100 mm. in the Carpathians. Two-thirds of this comes in the form of rain during the period April-September, one-third in the form of rain or snow during the cold six months from October to March.

THE INHABITANTS

Never having been subjected on any great scale to mixture with a foreign race, the Poles represent the purest Slav type. With the exception of a limited number of Protestants (Mazurians of East Prussia, etc.) and also of those Israelites, who at the last census gave Polish as their mother tongue, they are almost exclusively Roman Catholics. (Catholics, 93.5 per cent.; Israelites, 3.5 per cent.; Protestants, 2 per cent.; Miscellaneous, 1 per cent.)

The other nationalities¹ established on the territories of the ancient Republic of Poland are: the Lithuanians, the Letts, the White Ruthenes, the Ruthenes, the Russians, the Jews, and the Germans.

The Lithuanians number nearly 2,000,000² and are to be found in the government of Kowno, in a part of the governments of Wilno and Suwalki, and in the north-eastern

¹ The figures that we give here refer to the different nationalities as they were to be found, at the end of 1910, in the territories occupied by the Republic of Poland at the time of the First Partition (1772). (See **Area**.)

² According to Brockhaus' "**Kleines Konvers-Lexicon**" (1914) the total number of the Lithuanians reaches 2,500,000.

districts of East Prussia. They constitute a quite distinct nationality and have a language of their own. They belong to the Roman Catholic religion. The Lithuanian nationalist movement has made sensible progress in the last few years.

The Letts (375,000) in the western districts of the Government of Witebsk, the ancient Polish Livonia, are Catholics, whereas the Letts of Courland are Protestants. The Letts form a rural population possessing a strong sense of national individuality.

The White-Ruthenes number 6,250,000, and inhabit the governments of Minsk, Mohylow, and a part of the governments of Witebsk, Wilno and Grodno. They form a mass of undecided nationality, whose evolution it is impossible to foresee. The White-Ruthenes are Roman Catholics, and are markedly under the influence of Polish civilisation.

The Ruthenes (known also as Little Russians or Ukrainians) number about 13,000,000, and are to be found in the governments of Podolia, Wolhynia, Kiev (Kijów), and in a part of the governments of Chelm and Grodno, as well as in Eastern Galicia. They are Orthodox in the Russian provinces (where their nationality is not recognised by the State), forming there a great peasant mass, with only a very small educated class. The Ruthenian language (Little Russian) is not admitted in the schools in Russia. Its use is subject to restrictions in the press and in literature. In Galicia, the Ruthenes ("Uniats," that is to say, Catholics of the Greek rite) have arrived at a high degree of national development and their language is admitted in all official and educational institutions. They possess a fairly important modern literature.

The educated classes, among the four peoples mentioned, began to be formed only some fifty years ago. This circumstance brings into greater prominence the part played in those lands by the Poles, who possess a highly developed civilisation and at the same time a well organised social structure.

The Russians (1,400,000) except for a certain number of sectarians (Starovers), who entered Poland in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, have only recently established themselves in the provinces of the ancient Republic of

Poland. They are represented mainly by officials, and are not found in important numbers except on the eastern borders of Ruthenia and Lithuania.

The Jews³ (5,000,000), artisans, workmen, and tradesmen, live in the towns, both large and small, where often they form the majority of the inhabitants. Subjected, under Russian rule, to special laws which forbid their entrance into Russia proper, and which, in Lithuania and Ruthenia, oblige them to settle exclusively in the towns and in the boroughs, Jews swarm in the Kingdom of Poland, where the ancient Polish laws protected them from rigorous treatment. (See History, Social Development).

The Germans (4,000,000), are for the most part represented by elements which immigrated into Poland only in comparatively recent years, except in the case of the population of certain districts of West Prussia and Prussian Silesia which were Germanised between the commencement of the 15th and the end of the 18th century. Germans are to be found in considerable numbers in the Polish provinces of Prussia and form colonies in the Kingdom of Poland, in Wolhynia, in Podolia, etc., where they devote themselves to agriculture, industry and commerce.

STATISTICS OF THE POLISH POPULATION, JANUARY 1st, 1911

The Statistics which follow include the territories where the Polish element is indigenous, and where the population,

³ The total number of Israelites on the territories formerly occupied by the Republic of Poland is about 6,000,000. We speak in the above paragraph exclusively of Jews who, at the time of the census, gave Yiddish (a corrupt dialect of German) as their mother tongue, and thus showed their national separatism. The Israelites of **Prussian Poland** have allowed themselves to be completely Germanised. Of the Israelites living in the **Kingdom of Poland** (1,720,000), only a few (about 70,000) can be counted as Poles, or Russians (in number about 40,000, recent immigrants). The large majority form, together with the Israelites of Lithuania and Ruthenia (3,341,000), a great Jewish nationalist block. On the other hand, the Israelites of Galicia (872,000), at the time of the census, which was drawn up on a language basis, according to the employment by the population of one of the three languages of the country recognised by the State, declared themselves Polish by a large majority; only a comparatively small number declared themselves Germans or Ruthenes.

either dense or scattered, has inhabited the land for centuries.

These territories include those occupied by the Republic of Poland at the time of the first Partition (1772), and also certain regions which, ethnographically Polish, had been detached from it before the first Partition. For the purpose of statistics we have found it necessary to preserve existing political and administrative divisions, although this artificial grouping of Polish with non-Polish populations often diminishes the comparative importance of the Polish element. Finally, in order to complete the picture, it has been thought well to include Poles living in other parts of Europe and in America.⁴

THE POLES IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

The Kingdom of Poland (127,684 sq. km.) is a fragment of the ancient Republic of Poland, and was formed at the Congress of Vienna (1815) out of the larger part of the Duchy of Warsaw. The population, including the garrison, is 12,476,000, of which 9,000,000 (74 per cent.) are Poles. The remainder is composed of Lithuanians, 2.7 per cent.; Ruthenians, 3 per cent.; Russians, 1.1 per cent.; Jews, 14 per cent., and Germans, 5 per cent.

In regard to religion, 76 per cent. of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics, 14 per cent. are Israelites, 5.3 per cent. are Protestants, and 3.7 per cent. belong to the Orthodox Church.

⁴ All these data are taken from Official Publications:—

"The Statistical Year-book of Russia," published by the Russian Central Committee of Statistics, 1912.

"Oesterreichisches Statistisches Handbuch" (1913), "Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat" (1914), "Manual of Statistics for Galicia" (1913).

The following works have also been consulted:—

"Statistical Year-book of the Kingdom of Poland" (1913), "Statistics of Poland by the Statistical Society of Cracow" (1915), "The Poles and Polonism in Lithuania and Ruthenia" (E. Maliszewski, 1914), "The Polish Element in Ruthenia" (S. Bartoszewicz, 1912), "Polish Encyclopaedia" (Cracow Academy of Science, Vol. I., 1915), "Geographisch-Statistische Tabellen" (O. Hubner, 1914).

It is necessary to add that the majority of official documents, both Russian and German, aim at reducing the numerical importance of the Polish nationality.

The principal towns are : Warsaw (872,000 inhabitants), Lodz (459,000), Sosnowice (114,000), Czenstochowa, Lublin, Kalisz, etc.⁵

LITHUANIA, WHITE RUTHENIA, SOUTH-WEST RUTHENIA

Lithuania⁶ is composed of the present governments of Wilno, Kowno, and Grodno : it has a total of 5,728,000 inhabitants, and an area of 121,840 sq. km. White Ruthenia (White Russia) is composed of the governments of Minsk, Witebsk, and Mohylow : total 6,981,000 inhabitants ; 178,124 sq. km. South West Ruthenia is composed of the governments of Kiev, Wolhynia, Podolia : 12,336,000 inhabitants ; 164,870 sq. km. The Grand Duchy

⁵ Owing to the want of official statistics of nationalities for 1910 we have been obliged to take the statistics of religious denominations as a basis for the above estimates. The Catholic population of the Kingdom (76 per cent.) is composed of Poles, German Catholics (0.3 per cent. in 1897), and Lithuanians (2.7 per cent.). The proportion of Lithuanian Catholics is continually decreasing, and on January 1st, 1913, approached 2.6 per cent. The number of Catholics who belong to other nationalities is negligible, in view of the fact that both the White-Ruthenes and the Catholic Ruthenes of the Kingdom, between whom a distinction is drawn in the official statistics, count themselves as Poles. If we add 0.57 per cent. of Jews, who in the census of 1897 declared for Polish nationality, 0.3 per cent. of Polish Protestants, and 0.13 per cent. of members of other denominations, we find that the Polish element in the Kingdom may be estimated at 74 per cent.

⁶ It must be noted that the official statistics of these countries have been influenced by political considerations and must not be taken as exact. Thus, in 1897, the Polish population of the district of Wilno was given as 20.12 per cent., and that of the district of Troki as 11.26 per cent., whilst in 1909 the official statistics for the same two districts gave the population as 42.99 per cent. and 22.04 per cent. respectively. Similar inexactitudes are frequent : for instance, we find a large part of the Polish rural population described as White-Ruthenes, Lithuanians, or Ruthenes. In order to obtain more exact figures, we must again have recourse to the statistics of religious denominations. By taking the recent ecclesiastical census as a basis, it is possible to find out the actual proportion of Poles, which is, in Lithuania 18.47 per cent. and in White Ruthenia 7.48 per cent. In regard to the three Ruthenian governments of Kiev, Wolhynia and Podolia, the question is simplified by the fact that in these provinces the Poles alone, nobles and peasants alike, belong to the Catholic Church, the Ruthenian people being Orthodox. If we deduct the German and Czech Catholics (about 0.3 per cent.), the official figures for the Catholics in Ruthenia correspond exactly with the number of Poles, who are thus proved to form at least 6.94 per cent. of the inhabitants of that country.

of Lithuania, after definitely conquering these latter provinces in 1362, entered into union with Poland in 1386. These territories therefore were under Polish rule until they were annexed by Russia at the time of the Partitions (1772-1795).

The Polish Population (2,438,000) is distributed as follows: 17 per cent. In White Ruthenia as a whole 7.48 per cent. : Wilno 26.5 per cent. : of Kowno : 11.4 per cent. : of Grodno 17 per cent. In White Ruthenia as a whole 7.48 per cent. : government of Minsk, 10.3 per cent. : of Witebsk, 8.6 per cent. : of Mohylow, 3 per cent. In South-West Ruthenia as a whole 6.94 per cent. : government of Wolhynia, 9.97 per cent. : of Podolia, 8.71 per cent. : of Kiev, 2.9 per cent.

According to religious denominations the population of the country is distributed as follows : in Lithuania and White Ruthenia (statistics of 1897), Roman Catholics, 31.06 p.c.; Orthodox, 52.9 per cent.; Protestants, 1.28 per cent.; Israelites, 14.12 per cent. In South-West Ruthenia (statistics of 1897) : Roman Catholics, 6.94 per cent.; Orthodox, 78.10 per cent.; Protestants, 1.82 per cent.; Israelites, 12.54 per cent.

In the towns of Wilno (190,000), and Kowno (88,000) the majority of the inhabitants are Poles. In Grodno, Bialystok, Minsk (113,000), Dunaburg (110,000), Witebsk (102,000), Homel (102,000), Kiev (550,000), Zytomir, etc., the Poles form important minorities. In all these towns, excepting Kiev and Witebsk, the Poles are, after the Jews, the most numerous element of the population.

Centuries of union with Lithuania, White Ruthenia and Ruthenia have given the Poles a strong political, economic and civilising influence in these countries, where they still possess nearly 22 per cent. of the landed property (close upon 8,000,000 hectares) and nearly a third of the house-property. The Poles, thanks to their activity in all branches of social life, contribute largely to the development of these provinces without prejudicing the interests of other nationalities.

Colonies in Russia. There are also Poles to the number of 4,600,000 scattered over the whole surface of the Russian Empire outside the provinces already mentioned; they are concentrated especially in the towns, where they devote themselves to industry, commerce, and the liberal professions.

THE POLES UNDER THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN
MONARCHY

Galicia (78,497 sq. km.) is made up of a part of the ancient Lesser Poland and of Red Ruthenia. The object of much dispute from the 10th century onwards, Red Ruthenia had, until the Partitions, been inseparably united to Poland from the 14th century. In 1772 and 1795 Austria annexed not only what is now called Galicia, but also the southern part of the present Kingdom of Poland. In 1809 this territory, together with Cracow and its surrounding district, was included in the Duchy of Warsaw, created by Napoleon in 1804. After the Congress of Vienna (1815), the town of Cracow and its environs formed an independent Republic which lasted from 1815 to 1846.

The population of Western Galicia is almost exclusively Polish; that of Eastern Galicia is made up of Ruthenes (58.69 per cent.) and Poles (36.63 per cent.) The majority of the Jews of Galicia have voted for Polish nationality. The total population of Galicia numbers 8,025,000; of whom 4,672,000 are Poles; (58.55 per cent.); and 3,208,000; Ruthenes (40.2 per cent.). There are 3,733,000 Roman Catholics; 3,380,000 Uniats; 872,000 Israelites; 57,000 Protestants; only 3,000 (less than 1.25 per cent.) belong to the Orthodox Church.

The chief towns are : Cracow (154,000) ; Lwów (Leopolis), (207,000), Przemyśl, Tarnów, Kolomya, etc. The urban population throughout Galicia consists almost entirely of Polish Catholics and Israelites, the Ruthenes forming only insignificant minorities (in Leopolis, the Ruthenes number only 1 per cent. of the population).

Austrian Silesia. In Austrian Silesia (5,147 sq. km.) the province of Opawa (Troppau) is strongly Germanised. The province of Cieszyn (Teschen) (2,300 sq. km.)—an ancient Duchy which passed from Poland, first to Bohemia and then to Austria, by right of heritage—has kept its Polish character. It has a population of 434,000, of whom 235,000 (54.9 per cent.) are Poles, 27.1 per cent. Czechs and 18 per cent. Germans. The Polish element forms an absolute majority here, and is increasing in spite of unfavourable political conditions.

Spisz (Zips) and Orawa, a zone extending to the south-east along the northern Carpathians, is inhabited by nearly 200,000 Poles. This region, a portion of which (Spisz) was occupied by Austria in 1769, at present forms part of Hungary.

Polish Colonies. In Bukovina there are 36,000 Poles; in Bosnia 12,000; in other parts of Austria, 24,000.

THE POLES IN THE PRUSSIAN STATE

The Grand Duchy of Poznan (Posen, 28,996 sq. km.) is a part of the ancient Greater Poland which, annexed by Prussia at the time of the Second Partition (1793) belonged, from 1807 to 1815, to the Duchy of Warsaw, and was reassigned to Prussia by the Treaty of Vienna, 1815. The total population amounts to 2,100,000 (Roman Catholics, 67.73 per cent.; Protestants, 30.79 per cent.; Israelites, 1.26 per cent). The Poles, 61.5 per cent. of the whole population, number 1,291,000.⁷ The capital of the country is Poznan (Posen), 157,000 inhabitants. The Germans⁸ in Poznania are chiefly concentrated in the Regency of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg).

⁷ The official statistics systematically aim at making the number of Poles appear less than it actually is. With this object in view special categories have been created for individuals who speak "Cachube or Mazurian as their native tongue." These are, as a matter of fact, only Polish dialects. It is necessary also to count the "Bilinguals" as Poles. Those who collect information from the inhabitants are officials first and foremost, and try to obtain the largest possible figure of persons speaking "the two native tongues," whether Polish and German, Cachube and German, or Mazurian and German. This affects those Poles who are dependent in one way or another upon the Prussian authorities (e.g., railway men and other minor officials). Finally, in consequence of Governmental pressure, a certain number of Poles living on the borders of purely German districts are compelled to inscribe themselves as German-speaking. Thus, the number of Poles is in reality much larger than that given in the statistical data which follow.

⁸ The German element is chiefly to be found in the frontier districts and in the towns, where the functionaries mainly reside. At Poznan the population, in 1914, numbered 170,000; of these 101,000 were Poles, 6,000 were Jews, 33,000 were functionaries and soldiers with their families, and only 30,000 were Germans. Polish recruits from these parts, be it said, are sent into the interior of Germany. The statistics of the population of the German Empire in regard to occupations, published in 1907, show that in the Polish territories under Prussian rule, one-seventh of the German population is composed of soldiers and officials with their families—mainly an immigrant element.

West Prussia (population 1,703,000) is made up of the ancient Royal Prussia, together with some fragments of Greater Poland and of Polish Pomerelia (25,553 sq. km.). Annexed in 1772 and 1793, the greater portion of it—with its important centres Torun (Thorn) and Chelmno (Culm)—belonged, from 1807 to 1815, to the Duchy of Warsaw, and were returned to Prussia by the Treaty of Vienna. Of the total population 51.82 per cent. are Roman Catholics, 46.32 per cent. are Protestants, and 0.82 per cent. are Israelites. The Poles number 604,000 (35.5 per cent.). In the districts situated on the Baltic coast (formerly Polish Pomerelia) in the neighbourhood of Gdansk (Dantzic), the Cachubes are in a considerable majority (67.73 per cent). They number over 200,000, and are of pure Polish race.

East Prussia (37,002 sq. km.), of which the greater part is now Germanised, is composed of the ancient Ducal Prussia (tributary to Poland from 1466 to 1660) and of Warmia, annexed by Prussia in 1772. The Poles (called here Mazurians) number 286,000 (50 per cent.), and live principally in the Regency of Olsztyn (Allenstein, 12,026 sq. km.), on the frontier of the Kingdom of Poland; the majority belong to the Lutheran religion. The population of the Regency of Olsztyn (543,000) is divided according to religion as follows: Roman Catholics, 28.3 per cent.; Protestants, 70.31 per cent.; Israelites, 0.5 per cent.

Prussian Silesia. Silesia (40,355 sq. km.), formerly a province of Poland, passed to Bohemia and to Austria by right of heritage, and was finally taken from Austria by Prussia. Although Germanised in the Regencies of Wroclaw (Breslau) and of Lignitz, it has a strong Polish majority (56.88 per cent.) in the Regency of Opole (Oppeln, in Upper Silesia, 13,230 sq. km.). The Poles in the Regency of Opole number 1,338,000 out of a population of 2,208,000. According to religion, Roman Catholics number 90.58 per cent.; Protestants, 8.55 per cent.; Israelites, 0.83 per cent.

Polish Colonies. In Prussia (Westphalia, Rhine Provinces, Hanover, Brandenburg, etc.) there are 505,000 Poles; in other parts of the Empire (Kingdoms of Saxony, Hamburg, etc.), 75,000.

POLES OUTSIDE THE PARTITIONING STATES

In North America there are more than 3,100,000 Poles, of whom 315,000 live in Chicago. In South America the Poles number 100,000, the majority of them living in Brazil, in the State of Parana. In Europe, outside the Russian, German and Austrian Empires, there are about 100,000 Poles, and about 30,000 are scattered in other parts of the world.

SUMMARY

Total number of Poles in 1910 :

Russia :

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----|-----------|------------|
| Kingdom of Poland | ... | 9,100,000 | |
| Lithuania and Ruthenia | ... | 2,438,000 | |
| Russian Empire | ... | 460,000 | |
| | | <hr/> | 11,998,000 |

Austria-Hungary :

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|
| Galicia | ... | 4,672,000 | |
| Zips, Orava, etc. | ... | 200,000 | |
| Silesia (Cieszyn) | ... | 235,000 | |
| Bukovina | ... | 36,000 | |
| Other Provinces | ... | 36,000 | |
| | | <hr/> | 5,179,000 |

Germany :

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|
| Duchy of Poznan | ... | 1,291,000 | |
| West Prussia | ... | 604,000 | |
| East Prussia | ... | 286,000 | |
| Prussian Silesia | ... | 1,338,000 | |
| Westphalia, etc. | ... | 580,000 | |
| | | <hr/> | 4,099,000 |
| Colonies in Europe : | ... | | 100,000 |

Total in Europe, 21,376,000

Colonies Elsewhere :

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----------|-----------|
| North America | ... | 3,100,000 | |
| South America | ... | 100,000 | |
| Other parts of the world | ... | 30,000 | |
| | | <hr/> | 3,230,000 |

Grand total, 24,606,000

By adding the estimated annual increase of population (varying from 12·5 per thousand inhabitants in the Government of Wilno to 19 per thousand in Poznan), the following figures are obtained for January 1st, 1915 :

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Poles in Europe | 22,669,000 |
| Total number of Poles in all parts of | |
| the world | 26,092,000 |

DENSITY OF POPULATION AT END OF 1910

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Kingdom of Poland | 98 inhabitants per sq. km. |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia 42 | do. |
| South-West Ruthenia ... 75 | do. |
| Galicia 102 | do. |
| Austrian Silesia (Cieszyn) ... 196 | do. |
| Grand Duchy of Poznan ... 72 | do. |
| West Prussia 67 | do. |
| East Prussia 53 | do. |
| Prussian Silesia (Opole) ... 167 | do. |

URBAN POPULATION, JANUARY 1st, 1913

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| Kingdom of Poland | 31·5 per cent. |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia ... | 11·86 „ |
| Ruthenia | 10·42 „ |
| Galicia | 19·8 „ |
| Austrian Silesia (Cieszyn) ... | 38·2 „ |
| Grand Duchy of Poznan ... | 25·7 „ |
| West Prussia | 28·44 „ |
| East Prussia | 25·4 „ |
| Regency of Olsztyn | 14·9 „ |
| Regency of Opole in Prussian Silesia | 41·32 „ |

The increase of population in the territories of the ancient Republic of Poland during the last 100 years has been in the following proportions—

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| Kingdom of Poland... .. | 481 per cent. |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia ... | 256 „ |
| South-West Ruthenia | 340 „ |
| (Compare Russia in Europe ... | 327 „) |
| Galicia | 216 „ |
| (Compare Austria | 214 „) |

Provinces of Polish population in Prussia 288 per cent.
(Compare Prussia ... 388 „)

The annual rate of increase of the Polish population varies according to districts from 12·5 to 19·2 per thousand.

The Poles, numerically, occupy the sixth place among the nations of Europe, which take rank as follows : Germans, Russians, English, French, Italians, Poles, Spaniards. Among historic Slav peoples they come between the Russians (75,000,000) and the Czechs (8,500,000).

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF POLAND

I.—INDEPENDENT POLAND (960—1795)

FROM the 9th century onwards, the Princes of "Greater Poland,"¹ feeling the necessity of putting an end to the constant Germanic invasions, attempted to build up a homogeneous State by grouping round them different neighbouring Slavonic tribes. This work was accomplished by the **Dynasty of the Piasts** (960—1370). The first of this line to embrace Christianity was **Miecislaw I**, who was baptised, together with his people, by priests of the Roman rite (966). This event decided, once and for all, the orientation of Poland, which, ever since that epoch, has been in close contact with Western civilisation.

Boleslaw I, the Valiant (992—1025), consolidated the central power of Poland, and extended her frontiers. In a series of wars against the Germanic Empire, he conquered Moravia, Silesia, the territory of Lusatia, and a large part of the present Brandenburg, all of which were Slavonic countries at this period. The Ruthenian Princes recognised his suzerainty. Finally, he delivered Poland from German influence by founding (1000 A.D.) the Archbishopric of Gniezno (Gnesen) and by having himself crowned King (1025). His work was carried on by his successors. **Boleslaw II, the Bold**, took Kiev and established his brother-in-law on the throne of Hungary. **Boleslaw III, Wry-mouth**, conquered Slavonic Pomerania, the land of the Lutiques (the present Mecklenburg), and the Island of Rügen.

Boleslaw III at his death divided Poland among four of his sons (1138), and the subsequent sub-divisions of the

¹ Greater Poland consisted of the present Poznania, together with parts of West Prussia and of Russian Poland.

Kingdom into a number of little independent Principalities arrested the development of Polish power. This decentralization was, however, general in Europe at this period.

In the 13th century, the Polish State was constituted anew, with Cracow as its Capital. **Wladislaw, the Short**, a brave soldier, strengthened his power by alliances. **Kazimierz the Great** (1333—1370), through a policy of prudence and moderation, raised and restored the country, which had been exhausted by successive wars. He issued the first collection of Polish laws, known as the Statute of Wislica (1347), endeavoured to improve the condition of the peasantry, showed himself tolerant of all Christian denominations, and even confirmed the privileges possessed by the Jews, who were at that time cruelly persecuted in the West. He built roads, palaces, and churches, notably the Cathedral of Lwów (Leopolis) in 1350, and founded the University of Cracow in 1364.² With Kazimierz the Great, the Dynasty of the Piasts came to an end.

POLAND AS A GREAT POWER (1386—1696)

Jadwiga of Anjou, great-niece of Kazimierz the Great, mounted the throne at the age of 15. She yielded to the wise counsel of the Polish Senate, and married the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wladislaw Jagiello. The result of this marriage was the Union of Poland and Lithuania (1386)—a union effected by peaceful means. Jagiello became a Christian and, having been crowned King of Poland, succeeded in making his Lithuanian people embrace the Catholic religion (1387). By her inexhaustible charity and greatness of soul, Jadwiga Queen of Poland has won a unique place in history and legend.

Wladislaw Jagiello (1386—1434) definitely restored Red Ruthenia to Poland. This territory, which forms the eastern and southern parts of modern Galicia, was an ancient possession of the Piasts. Polish civilisation rapidly spread and set an ineffaceable seal upon this region, thanks to colonisation and to the establishment of equality

² The University of Cracow is thus the oldest in Central and Eastern Europe after that of Prague (1348). That of Vienna was founded in 1365; Berlin and Petrograd, the capitals of the other two partitioning powers, were without universities until 1809 and 1810 respectively.

between the local nobility and that of the Kingdom. Poland possessed at this period so strong a power of attraction that the Princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia accepted her suzerainty of their own free will (1387—1396).

But the greatest historical event of this epoch was the decisive victory won, after a protracted struggle, over the Order of the Teutonic Knights. In 1226, Prince Konrad of Mazowia had given this Order one of his provinces in fief, with the corresponding obligation of defending the Polish frontier against the incursions of the Prussians—a pagan people, of a race akin to the Lithuanian. Meanwhile the Knights, under pretence of propagating Christianity, took to ravaging Polish territory. Having reached the summit of their power they openly attacked Poland, which represented the principal obstacle to their hegemony in the East. They were completely defeated at the Battle of Grünwald (1410), and the German tide, which had threatened to overwhelm the Slavs, was now to recede for several centuries. Even the peoples who had been Germanised by the Knights revolted against their cruel tyranny and begged the King of Poland, Kazimierz, son of Wladislaw Jagiello, to take them under his protection. After long and exhausting wars, the Teutonic Knights were definitively conquered; Pomerelia and the whole of Prussia returned to Poland in 1466, with the exception of a part of East Prussia which, with Königsberg, was entrusted once more, as a fief, to the Grand Masters of the Order. When the Order was secularised in 1525, Albert I of Brandenburg, of the Hohenzollern family, was obliged to go and pay homage to the King of Poland.

Under the Jagiello dynasty, Poland entered the scene of European politics. The defeat which she had inflicted on the Teutonic Order gave her the first place among Slavonic nations. Hungary and Bohemia called to their thrones princes of the Polish dynasty. Unfortunately, Wladislaw III, King of Poland and Hungary, perished at the battle of Varna (1444) against the Turks, and Ludwik Jagiello met with the same fate at Mohacs (1526). As the latter left no children, the Kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs, whose power was notably increased by this heritage.

A new danger now claimed the attention of the Kings of Poland. The Russian and Finnish tribes scattered between the Don, the Dnieper, and the Volga, delivered at last from the Tartar yoke, had grouped themselves round the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Already in 1475, Ivan III had laid down the principle that the Grand Dukes of Moscow should reign over "all the Russias," including under this designation not only the Russian lands under Muscovite rule, but also the territories peopled by the White-Ruthenes and the Ruthenes, which belonged to Poland. This was the beginning of a rivalry between the two States, which was to last for centuries.

The political power of Poland under the Jagiello dynasty coincides with the golden age of her civilisation. The Kings welcomed and protected foreign men of learning, who spread the light of humanism. Eminent poets, such as Jan Kochanowski, Nicolas Rey, etc., wrote their masterpieces. The great sculptor Wit Stwosz adorned Poland and Germany with his beautiful sculptures. Mention must also be made of the astronomer Copernicus and of Jan Dlugosz, the first great Polish historian. The University of Cracow produced in the 15th and 16th centuries a number of theologians of the first rank. It was a Pole, Cardinal Hosius, who presided at the Council of Trent. Cracow became a literary, scientific, and artistic centre. Under Zygmunt I and Zygmunt II, during the religious wars which then desolated Europe, Poland set an example of the widest toleration; she welcomed and protected all sects, even the most extreme.

At this period, brilliant Generals, such as J. Tarnowski, J. Zamoyski, C. Chodkiewicz, S. Zolkiewski, distinguished themselves by a number of victories won in battles against the Turks, the Muscovites, the Swedes, and the Wallachians.

In 1561, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia submitted to Poland of their own free will. In 1569, during the reign of Zygmunt II, the celebrated Union of Lublin took place, by which the alliance between Poland and Lithuania was finally cemented. Each of the two peoples preserved its liberties, its customs, and its laws. The Throne, the Diet, and the coinage were the sole things held in common. The Union

of Lublin is one of the most magnificent and rare examples of political toleration in the history of humanity.

It was soon followed by the religious union called the Union of Brzesc, by which those Catholics of the Greek rite who, after the Union of Florence, had drifted back from Rome into Orthodoxy, submitted once more to the authority of the Pope.

In 1572 the Jagiello Dynasty came to an end. Numerous candidates for the throne presented themselves, from among whom was elected **Henry of Valois**, who shortly afterwards left Poland to become Henry III of France.

His successor, **Stefan Batory** (1576—1586), a cautious politician, conceived the plan of dominating the Muscovite power, and of subsequently using both Muscovy and Venice against the Ottoman Empire. This plan was only partially carried into execution. Batory³ died after three victorious campaigns against the Muscovites.

The danger in the East was henceforth to absorb the attention of Batory's successors. In 1610, during the reign of **Zygmunt III**, of the Vasa Dynasty, the Polish army entered Moscow, and the Boyars proclaimed Zygmunt's son, Wladislaw, Tsar of Muscovy. But the King, owing to religious scruples, failed to take action, and thus lost the opportunity of uniting Muscovy to Poland. This campaign, although so brilliant, gained nothing for Poland beyond certain territorial concessions.

The Vasas (1587—1668) dragged the country into a long series of aimless and disastrous wars with Sweden, during which Muscovy and Turkey threatened the very independence of the Republic from outside. Besides this, the Cossacks, oppressed by the nobles, began a number of sanguinary struggles within the country itself. One may truly admire the energy with which Poland, in such difficult circumstances, was able to meet the attack of her numerous and powerful enemies. When the capital of Austria was besieged by the Turks (1683), it was the King of Poland, Jan Sobieski, who, at the head of his army, saved Vienna, and thus the whole of Western Europe. This

³ Batory founded in 1578 the University of Wilno. In 1595 a third Polish University, that of Zamosc, was founded by J. Zamoycki.

defeat inflicted on the Turks broke the conquering march and the military power of the Ottoman Empire.

Sobieski died in 1696, and with his death the epoch of Poland's greatest power came to an end.

A word must be said concerning the profound social changes in Poland. The struggles between the King and the Great Nobles had increased the importance of the Gentry or Lesser Nobility, whose support both sought to win. In 1422 the nobility was granted the inviolability of its property, and in 1425 personal inviolability. ("Neminem captivabimus.")⁴ In 1505 these liberties and privileges were confirmed by the statute "Nihil Novi."

According to this statute, no decision could be taken without the consent of the Diet, which was composed of three Estates: an Elective King, a Senate nominated by the King, and a Chamber of Deputies. The first example of the Democratic Parliamentary System of Europe is therefore to be found in Poland; for the English Magna Charta of 1215 was of a purely aristocratic character.

Unfortunately, dynastic changes and incessant and burdensome wars, formed an obstacle to the establishment of a strong Government. The Nobility, thanks to privileges bestowed by the house of Jagiello, had grown considerably in power at the expense of the Middle Classes. As for the Peasants, their situation was pitiable, as indeed it was at that time everywhere in Europe. The system of electing the Kings caused the executive power little by little to pass into the hands of the Diet, or rather into those of the Nobility in general. A final expression of the exaggerated decentralisation of power was found in the *Liberum Veto* (used for the first time in 1652), which gave each Deputy the right of defeating any resolution of the Diet by his single opposition.⁵

⁴ England, justly proud of her civic liberties, did not obtain a similar law, the Habeas Corpus Act, until 1679.

⁵ The *Liberum Veto* would have been abolished by Polish reformers long before the Constitution of 1791, had not the future destroyers of Poland prevented the accomplishment of any salutary reform. It was to their interest to keep the country in a state of anarchy. The Republic, however, did not deserve the name of "Aristocratic Oligarchy" which German historians gave it and took pains to popularise. The Polish nobility, unlike the Western aristocracy, formed, in the 18th century, nearly 12 per

The State had no strong or regular army at its disposal. Education had deteriorated. Poland, which had spread enormously towards the East, became exhausted by the heavy task of organising and civilising primitive countries, which, absorbing her moral and material forces, lowered the level of her own civilisation.

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE REPUBLIC (1696—1795)

This epoch may be sub-divided into two periods :

I. The period of the State's decadence corresponding with the period during which Augustus II and III, Electors of Saxony, reigned in Poland (1697—1763).

II. The period of attempts at reform, rendered vain by the interference of neighbours and by the Partitions of the Republic (1764—1795).

Symptoms of anarchy, hitherto latent, became manifest under the Saxon Kings. Augustus II showed himself ready to divide Poland with his neighbours. By his alliance with Russia he provoked an invasion by the Swedes. The King of Sweden, Charles XII, supported Stanislaw Leszczynski, the rival of Augustus to the Polish throne. The election of the last two Kings of Poland took place under the threat of Russian bayonets. Augustus III, indolent and narrow-minded, did not so much as know the Polish language, and left the Government in the hands of his minister Bruehl.

The last King, Stanislaw-August Poniatowski, a man of good intentions and great intelligence, but of weak character, was unable to hold his own against the intrigues of Russian diplomacy. A section of the nobility united to form the Confederation of Bar (1768—1772), which had for its object the safeguarding of Polish independence. This Confederation, feebly supported by Austria and France, after several years of struggle, was dissolved.

The country was now completely exhausted. Poland's

cent. of the whole population, and the majority lived in a way not very different from that of the peasantry. Thus in Poland a large proportion of the inhabitants early enjoyed full political rights. The Liberal France of Louis-Philippe did not grant such rights to one per cent. of her citizens (180,000 in 30,000,000). In Great Britain, before the reform of 1832, less than 2 per cent. (400,000) of the inhabitants had the right to vote. Poland in the 18th century was, therefore, in relation to the period, a remarkably democratic country.

three neighbours, Prussia, Russia and Austria, took advantage of her weakness to dismember her. The first Partition took place in 1772. It is necessary to remember that Austria had already annexed a piece of Polish territory in 1769, namely, the district of Spisz, now a part of Hungary.

This blow dealt at the dignity and integrity of the nation roused it to a supreme effort. In 1773 was founded the Commission of Education, the first Ministry of Public Education in Europe. Its beneficial effect was soon felt. Animated by a fine patriotic zeal, the country made rapid progress in all spheres of social and economic life. Finally, Poland, taking advantage of the situation in Russia, concluded a defensive alliance with Prussia, and the Grand Diet, known as the Four-Years Diet, enacted the Constitution of the 3rd of May (1791). This Constitution reasserted religious tolerance, suppressed the *Liberum Veto* and the Confederations, protected the peasantry, and secured for the middle classes sufficiently wide rights. The throne was to become hereditary in the Saxon dynasty. Every 25 years a special Diet was to revise the Constitution.

But Russia did not allow these reforms to be realised, and invaded the territory of the Republic. In spite of the heroic resistance of Prince Jozef Poniatowski and of Kosciuszko, the country could not be saved; and Russia, in agreement with Prussia, proceeded to the second Partition (1793).

The Polish nation rose. Kosciuszko took command of the insurrectionary movement, in which for the first time the peasantry and the middle classes took part. In spite of their heroic deeds, in spite of the victory at Raclawice in April, and the defence of Warsaw in September, the improvised Polish armies were crushed by the Coalition.

Kosciuszko was wounded and taken prisoner at Maciejowice. The third and last Partition (1795) followed soon after this defeat. In the course of these three Partitions **Russia** annexed:—Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Wolhynia, Podolia and Kiiovia, that is to say, the country between the Dnieper, the Dwina, the Niemen, as far as the Bug and Vistula (about 435,000 sq. km. and 6,250,000 inhabitants); **Austria** annexed:—the present Galicia and another fraction of Poland situated between the Bug, the

Vistula and the Pilica (about 140,000 sq. km. and 3,000,000 inhabitants); **Prussia** annexed:—Greater Poland, Warmia, Polish Pomerelia with Gdansk (Dantzic), Royal Prussia, the part west of Masovia (with Warsaw) and Lithuania as far as the Pilica and the Niemen (about 160,000 sq. km. with 2,500,000 inhabitants).

The Partitions of Poland, by turning eastward the attention of the European Coalition against Revolutionary France, had the effect of saving France; but they destroyed the equilibrium of Europe.

II. POLAND DISMEMBERED

Struggles for Independence: The Duchy of Warsaw.

The indomitable Polish nation refused to accept the decree of political death pronounced against her, and, in spite of the inferiority of her forces, at once renewed her struggle for independence.

After the failure of Kosciuszko, a large part of the Polish army emigrated into France and into Lombardy, where Generals Dombrowski and Kniasiewicz (one of the heroes of Hohenlinden) instituted the Polish legions. These legions, having identified their hope of a reconstituted Poland with the cause of Napoleon and France, took part in the Italian wars, and distinguished themselves in many campaigns. In 1806, during the war between France and Prussia, General Dombrowski stirred up an insurrection in which all the Polish provinces subject to Prussia took part. The Peace of Tilsit (1807) brought with it the creation of the Duchy of Warsaw, which included a part of the present Russian Poland, Poznan and West Prussia, with the towns of Warsaw, Poznan, and Thorn. Gdansk (Dantzic), with a circle of about 100 sq. km. of territory round it, was declared a Free City under the joint protection of the King of Prussia and of the King of Saxony in his capacity as Duke of Warsaw. This little fragment of the ancient Republic received the Code Napoleon,⁶ and a Constitution of a highly centralising character. The emancipation of the peasants, and the equality of citizens before the law, were proclaimed.

⁶ The Code Napoleon is still used in the Kingdom of Poland.

Legislative power was assigned to two Chambers;—the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate: both were deprived, however, of the right of initiative. The Executive power, very wide in range, was entrusted to the Duke and to a Council of State, composed of five Ministers, assisted by certain high functionaries. The Administrative Council was the executive organ of the Council of State.

The Poles, meanwhile, continued to struggle side by side with France. In 1808 took place the famous Charge of the Polish Light Horse in the defiles of Somosierra, and the taking of Saragossa, where the legions especially distinguished themselves. In 1809, a strong Austrian Army invaded the Duchy of Warsaw. Prince Jozef Poniatowski defeated it at Rassyn, occupied Galicia, and entered Cracow. The Duchy was enlarged by the addition of all Western Galicia. With remarkable energy and skill, the Government of the Duchy devoted itself to the task of organising all branches of economic and social life, including national education. In spite of the heavy sacrifices imposed upon it by circumstances, the country was still able to furnish Napoleon with about 60,000 men. After his downfall in 1812, Prince Jozef Poniatowski, Marshal of France, alone among Napoleon's allies, remained faithful to military honour. He perished in the waters of the Elster, near Leipzig, while protecting with his Poles the retreat of the Imperial Army.

The Kingdom of Poland. The Congress of Vienna (1815) formed a large part of the Duchy of Warsaw (127,000 km. by 149,000) into a distinct State. Under the name of the Kingdom of Poland, this was joined to Russia by a dynastic union, and possessed its own constitution. Cracow with its environs was proclaimed an independent Republic, of nearly 120,000 inhabitants. All the other provinces of ancient Poland situated in Austria and Prussia, as well as Lithuania and Ruthenia, were promised national representation and national institutions. Furthermore, the Congress assured to the inhabitants of the recently partitioned countries freedom of commerce and of river-navigation throughout the whole extent of the ancient Republic. The co-partitioning States, however, kept their promises only in part. Austria and Russia, for instance,

while according Diets to certain of the Polish provinces, gave them merely consultative rights within very narrow limits. In the case of Lithuania and Ruthenia Russia did not grant even these concessions; but Alexander I took the title of King of Poland and granted the Kingdom a Constitution of which the following were the essential features :—

Inviolability of person and property, save in the execution of a legal sentence, was guaranteed, also the equality of citizens, freedom of the press, and fixity of tenure in the judicature. Poles alone were allowed to have access to civil and military positions. The Polish language alone was to be used in the administration, the law courts, the army, and the schools. A Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom (Namiestnik) represented the Monarch. The Legislative power belonged to a Diet, composed of a Senate and of a Chamber in which sat 77 representatives of the Nobility and 51 deputies representing the Commons. The Diet was to be convoked at least every two years. The Government was to be carried on by a Council of State, assisted by a Council of Administration. The country was divided into eight Palatinates, each of which possessed its own autonomous Council, and was administered by means of commissions in the Palatinates, by municipal councils in the towns, and by mayors in the rural communes. The Kingdom possessed its own army of 30,000 men, its own tariff and its own coinage.

This constitution was one of the most liberal in Europe at that time. Alexander I, furthermore, pledged himself before the Diet to join Lithuania and Ruthenia to the Kingdom, and to grant them the same liberties. But this promise was never carried out: these provinces were never reunited to the Kingdom, and the Poles there did not obtain the national representation promised by the Treaty of Vienna. Nevertheless, the rights of Polish civilisation were recognised in these provinces. National education, under the direction of Prince A. Czartoryski, was imbued with a thoroughly Polish and liberal spirit, and Wilno became one of the most luminous centres of science and literature.

Insurrection of 1830. The citizens of the new Kingdom of Poland applied themselves with zeal to the rebuilding of

their country. In spite of the devastations caused by recent wars, a very strong economic and intellectual movement arose, and finance and national education were re-established upon a solid basis, with Lubecki as Minister of Finance and Potocki as Minister of National Education. However, the union of the little constitutional Kingdom with the immense autocratic Empire was a phenomenon too abnormal to last. The Government of St. Petersburg did not conceal its hostility to Poland. On the Polish side, it was not long before certain of the more excitable elements, disappointed with the half measures of the Congress of Vienna, began to organize upon the model of the groups of Carbonari then scattered widely over Europe, a conspiracy which aimed at restoring Polish independence up to the limit to which Poland had extended before her dismemberment. Russian reactionaries took advantage of this movement to begin a struggle against the civic liberty of the Kingdom, although the vast majority in the country were not associated in any way with the secret proceedings of the conspiracy. The censorship and the secret police were introduced; citizens were imprisoned without trial; the Diet was not summoned; and the abrogation of the Constitution of the Kingdom was threatened.

On the death of General Zajaczek, the post of Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom remained vacant, and, in direct violation of the Constitution, the Grand Duke Constantine, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, was given little less than dictatorial power. The Grand Duke, yielding to the influence of his evil genius, Senator Nowosiltzoff, ruthlessly repressed the least symptoms of a liberal tendency. In Poland and in Lithuania, a systematic persecution of certain associations among the undergraduates of the universities began; many students were deported, among them the great poet Mickiewicz; others were pressed into the army. Discontent grew. The Emperor Nicholas, successor to Alexander I (d. 1825) had himself crowned at Warsaw in 1829, and took the oath to maintain the Constitution, declaring, however, that Lithuania and Ruthenia should never be reunited to the Kingdom. In spite of the Constitution a police system was maintained which continued to exasperate the Poles. In 1830, the cup was filled to

overflowing by a Government decision to send the Polish army to the front to stifle the revolution in France and Belgium. The insurrection broke out on November 29, 1830. In spite of the inequality of forces, the struggle of the little Kingdom against the giant Empire lasted eleven months. The rising spread to Lithuania and the Ukraine. Brilliant victories were won at Stoczek, at Wielkie-Dembe, at Wawer, at Iganie; Wilno was invested by Polish troops. But valour had to yield to numbers: Poland was forced to lay down arms.

The Great Emigration. The élite of the nation, with the army, emigrated to France: Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Prince Czartoryski, Niemcewicz, Mochnacki, Lelewel, poets, historians, politicians, took the road of exile, constituting in Western Europe what has been called the Great Emigration. This exodus was the beginning of a social, literary and scientific movement of the highest importance for Poland. On the political side two great parties began to take shape: the one Conservative, with Prince Czartoryski at its head; the other Radical-Democratic, led by Lelewel, Heltmann, and Worcell. Both aimed at independence, but while the Conservative party based its hopes upon diplomatic action, upon help from States friendly to Poland (France and England), the more advanced party aimed at direct action, at armed insurrection. The Central Democratic Committee of Versailles displayed particular activity in this respect, sending emissaries to Poland, organising plots, and trying to foment risings. The Emigration did not confine itself to working only for the political re-establishment of Poland; the more important of its groups occupied themselves with the emancipation of the peasants and the democratic progress of the country.

In the history of the Liberal and Democratic movement of the 19th century one of the most important places must be assigned to the Polish Emigration. Not only did the Emigrants fight for their own country during the Polish revolutions of 1846, 1848 and 1863, but also, faithful to their traditions, they took an active part in the struggles of other peoples against despotism and foreign domination. Already, towards the end of the 18th century, Kosciuszko, the national Polish hero, had become Brigadier-

General and Aide-de-Camp to Washington, and had fought, together with General Pulaski, for the independence of the United States; in 1797 Dombrowski and Kniaziewicz, at the head of Polish legions, had taken part in the establishment of the Cisalpine Republic; after 1830 two Polish Generals, Skrzynecki and Kruszewski, had organised the young Belgian army; and Polish legions, formed in 1848 by the poet Adam Mickiewicz, had taken up the cause of Italian liberty. In 1849, when Piedmont declared war against Austria, General W. Chrzanowski was entrusted with the plan of campaign. General Bem and General Dembinski were among the most important leaders of the Hungarian insurrection of 1849, in which Polish legions under General Wysocki particularly distinguished themselves. At the same date General Mieroslawski commanded the revolutionary army in Baden; he had previously led the Sicilian revolt against the Bourbons. Lastly, in 1855, Mickiewicz, Zamoyski and Czajkowski (Sadyk Pasha) formed legions in Turkey to fight side by side with France and England.

POLAND SUBJECTED TO FOREIGN DOMINATION

Russian Poland. Immediately after the Revolution of 1831, the Kingdom of Poland and the Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces were subjected to a violent and reactionary rule. The conqueror of Warsaw, Prince Paskiewicz, nominated Lord Lieutenant of the Kingdom (1831—1856), instituted a reign of terror, which lasted for a quarter of a century. Sentences of death were pronounced by the hundred. The property of 2,340 exiles was confiscated, their lands being assigned in perpetuity to Russian dignitaries. Deportations into Siberia and Russia were innumerable. The Constitution was abolished, and the Government formed the plan of replacing it by an Organic Statute (1832), which deprived the Kingdom of its Army, its Diet, and its Administrative independence, while allowing it a mutilated autonomy. Only the restrictive clauses of this statute were applied; all the constitutional liberties and even the elementary autonomy, though guaranteed anew by this Act, were suppressed. In 1833 the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, meeting at Münchengraetz, decided upon common action against "Polish agitation." Indignation in

the country was universal. The emissaries of the Emigration stirred up risings, several of which attained considerable proportions. Those of Konarski and Father Sciegienny were of a social and democratic character. Ruthlessly repressed, these risings had no effect beyond that of adding to the toll of victims.

The superior administrative organs of the Kingdom were dissolved or absorbed; in 1841 the Council of State was transformed into an Imperial department, and all the other Polish institutions underwent the same fate in turn. The Supreme Court of Justice was replaced in 1842 by two Departments of the Imperial Senate, established at Warsaw.⁷ All the administrative departments were subordinated to the corresponding Ministries at St. Petersburg. In 1848 the Polish Penal Code, based on French law, was replaced by the Russian. In 1850 the Customs frontier between the Kingdom and the Empire was abolished. The Russification of the political institutions of the Kingdom coincided with an attack upon the national spirit; the Poles were prosecuted not only in the domain of national education but in every sphere of culture. As a first step the University was closed; then the Polytechnic School, and the Association of the Friends of Science of Warsaw (1831): their libraries and collections were transported to St. Petersburg, together with those of the Kings of Poland. A pitiless censorship was instituted: the masterpieces of the great Polish poets of the Emigration were treated as contraband, their introduction into the country being severely punished. Primary education was reduced to an insignificant minimum. Access to establishments for secondary education was forbidden to children of plebeian origin. Subjects of general education were eliminated from the college curricula, incoherent fragments at most being allowed to remain. In 1839 the Russian language was introduced into secondary education and, to some extent, into primary schools; there was no longer any higher education. Thus an alarming fall in the standard of education became apparent. The Catholic Church was subjected to innumerable restrictive measures: the seminaries were compelled to give their

⁷ These were suppressed in 1876.

courses partly in Russian : the Ecclesiastical Academy was, in 1842, banished from Wilno to St. Petersburg.

Not less fatal was the social policy of the Government. An attempt was made to dig a gulf between the peasants and the landowners, by opposition to every reform and by the bestowal of land upon the peasantry.

In Lithuania and Ruthenia the state of things was still more deplorable. In 1831, after the revolution, 45,000 Polish families were transported, by decree, into the interior of Russia, Russian colonists being put in their place. The Lyceum of Krzemieniec (School of Higher Education) was suppressed in 1832. The University of Wilno underwent the same fate, and its medical faculty, which alone was suffered for a while to continue teaching, was finally suppressed in 1842. Education became completely Russified. In 1840 the ancient Lithuanian Statute, which for centuries had been the law of the country, was replaced by the Russian Code. The Catholic religion was persecuted. The Bishops and priests were hindered in the exercise of their ministry. By virtue of an Ukase of 1836, children born of a mixed marriage were to belong exclusively to the Orthodox religion. The Russian clergy seized numerous Catholic convents. The Government had for a long time systematically applied itself to the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church, known as the Uniat Church : this Church, to which nearly the whole population of Lithuania and the Ruthenian provinces belonged, was dissolved in 1839. When the people refused to recognise this violation of their conscience and opposed a passive resistance, thousands of "recalcitrants" were sent to Siberia. Eighty Uniat convents were closed or turned into Orthodox monasteries. Political and religious repression knew no bounds.

The Crimean War (1854—1855) disappointed the hopes of the Poles. Through their desire to secure the neutrality of Prussia and Austria, France and Great Britain were unwilling to raise the Polish question. The new Emperor, Alexander II, addressed the Poles, on his accession in 1855, in discouraging terms : "No more day dreams; what my father did was well done." There was however a certain relaxation of the system of oppression. The foundation of an Academy of Medicine and Surgery in Warsaw was

authorised in 1857, and an Agricultural Society was established, whose members were drawn from the more moderate party, with Count A. Zamoyski at its head. Meanwhile the principle of nationality, which had been brought to the fore by Napoleon III, and had led to the liberation of Italy from the Austrian yoke, revived the general spirit of the nation. A similarity between Polish and Italian aspirations was seen to exist, and reparation was claimed for the great injustice which Poland had suffered. When the three Sovereigns of the co-partitioning States met at Warsaw in 1860 there were demonstrations against them. The Revolutionary movement increased from day to day. Russia pursued a hesitating policy. However, the Marquis Wielopolski was in 1862 nominated head of the Civil Government, after having succeeded in obtaining important concessions and even a form of autonomy.³

This autonomy came too late; the country received it with suspicion and doubted the sincerity of the Russian Government. The Revolutionary movement had gone too far for a peaceful solution: public exasperation found vent in a series of attempts upon the lives of official personages: the Grand-Duke Constantine, who had been sent to Warsaw as Viceroy, Wielopolski, etc. The Poles looked to France and England for help towards the attainment of an assured liberty or even absolute independence. The demonstrations continued. Wielopolski thereupon had recourse to a fatal expedient: he ordered compulsory military service, with the object of mastering the young revolutionaries. This measure precipitated the Insurrection of 1863, which broke out in January, and soon spread to all the Polish territories under Russian domination: the Kingdom, Lithuania, and Ruthenia.

For sixteen months a handful of men struggled heroically against the Russian forces. Napoleon III took the initiative in intervention on behalf of Poland; France, England and Austria sent diplomatic notes to Russia; but the latter, relying on the military agreement recently concluded with Prussia, rejected this foreign interference with considerable

³ One of the first measures taken by the newly constituted Polish Government was the proclamation of the civil and political equality of the Jews.

coolness. The insurrection was drowned in blood. Count Berg, Lord-Lieutenant of the Kingdom, Mouravieff in Lithuania, covered themselves with indelible infamy by their cruelties. The mines of Siberia were filled with Poles; 18,000 were deported; gallows were set up everywhere; and over 30,000 sq. km. of Polish property were confiscated.

1864-1914. Lithuania and Ruthenia were henceforth treated with the utmost rigour. The Russian Government sought to destroy for ever the Polish element in those countries. The first attack made was upon the Catholic Church. In 1864 nearly all the monasteries were closed, and also a number of churches, their property being confiscated for the profit of the Treasury. Parish priests were forbidden to cross the boundaries of their parishes. The inhabitants were no longer allowed to build churches or even to repair them. Religious processions were prohibited and the pious Catholic peasants were forbidden to erect crosses by the way-side. All ecclesiastical affairs were subjected in the last resort to bureaucratic control.

The lands which belonged to the Poles were subjected to an additional tax, first ten and afterwards five per cent. of their annual revenue. In 1865, by virtue of an Ukase, which did not take the form of law and was applied only as a "temporary measure" (this "temporary measure" actually lasted for 40 years), the Poles of the nine Governments of Lithuania and Ruthenia were forbidden to buy land, to give it away, or to leave it by will even to relatives. Inheritance by direct succession alone was permitted. At this same period the "Government Peasant Bank" began to buy up Polish property in order to parcel out the land to Orthodox peasants.

Language and thought were likewise persecuted. It was forbidden to publish periodicals or to give theatrical performances in Polish. No shop-signs could be written in Polish. To speak Polish in public, in an office, in the schools, or in the streets, entailed severe penalties. The teaching in secret of the mother-tongue was punished by a fine of 300 roubles and imprisonment for three months. It is necessary to add that these measures were taken in the very home of those illustrious patriots and great masters

of the Polish language, Mickiewicz, Slowacki and Kosciuszko.

For a long time past the Polish nobility of Lithuania and Ruthenia had proclaimed at repeated intervals (1819, 1858), the necessity for the Emancipation of the Peasants. In 1861 the Russian Government began to carry out this reform in Russia itself; but it did not do so in the Kingdom, Lithuania or Ruthenia until after 1863. However, the Government, with a political aim in view, continued to maintain certain feudal rights and to parcel out lands, which became sources of inevitable future conflict between the great landowners and the peasantry.

In the Kingdom, after the Revolution of 1863, the Poles set themselves resolutely to work for the upbuilding of their country; but they were opposed by the Government. It was still bent upon a levelling policy, and upon assimilating the Kingdom to the other provinces of the Empire. In 1867 it suppressed the Polish Council of State and shortly afterwards the Commissions (Ministries). The few liberal reforms carried out in the rest of the Empire were not extended to the Kingdom, Lithuania or Ruthenia. Neither the Jury system at the Assize Courts, nor the election of Justices of the Peace, nor Municipal Autonomy, nor the Territorial Autonomy of the Zemstvos were admitted. A new organisation of rural communes was instituted, from which the influence of the educated Polish classes was eliminated with jealous care.

In 1869 Russian became the official language of both higher and secondary education. The University, the Veterinary College, the Agricultural Institute, all Polish Schools, were Russified, and the Polish professors dismissed.

In 1876 the Courts of Justice were definitively Russified. Further, a rigorous censorship put an end to liberty of speech, and the Polish language was entirely banished from the Schools, the Administration and the Law-Courts.

Thus, by a series of enactments, the whole autonomy of the Kingdom was gradually suppressed. Since 1877 its administration has been completely subjected to the central authorities at Petrograd.

There still remained one last Uniat diocese in the King-

dom, that of Chelm. It was transformed into an Orthodox diocese (1874), and all the Uniats were forced to embrace the official religion of the Empire. It was in vain that the people resisted. Whole villages were fined, condemned to corporal punishment, deported to Siberia. A population of half a million souls, unwilling to pass over to Orthodoxy, and yet unable to become openly Catholic, practised their religion in secret, even foregoing the sacrament of marriage and public burial rites over their dead. This state of things lasted until the Act of Tolerance of 1905.

On the accession of the Emperor Alexander III (1881), Nationalism triumphed definitively in the internal politics of the whole of Russia and overwhelmed Poland with new persecutions: this on the very morrow of the war of 1877, undertaken to liberate the Southern Slavs. Hurko, the Governor-General, Apushtin, the Curator of Public Education, were the zealous instruments of this policy. The School, in particular, was used as an instrument of denationalisation. Children were outrageously ill-used, tormented, and treated with ignominy.⁹ In 1885 the Polish language was suppressed in primary schools, where Russian from that time onwards took its place. Even religion was taught in Russian, and in 1895 there were only 134 schools in the whole Kingdom where the catechism was taught to the children by members of the Catholic clergy. In all the other elementary schools, the Catholic catechism was either not taught at all, or else by laymen, often of the Orthodox religion. The result of all these measures was deplorable. The children in the few villages which possessed schools at all attended them only 50 days a year on an average. According to official statistics, only 4.4 per cent. of the pupils of the primary schools reached the final standard.

The accession of Nicolas II in 1894 awakened new hopes, both in Poland and in the Empire as a whole. The members of the Polish Conservative Party, known as the "Conciliation" or "Realist" Party, attempted to enter into direct relations with the Crown: their object was to obtain tolerable conditions of national existence, based on

⁹ Hurko, the Governor-General, acknowledges this himself in a Memorial presented to the Emperor in 1890.

the principle of political solidarity between the Poles and the Russian State. These efforts met with no success. In spite of the appointment to the Governor-Generalship of Warsaw of Prince Imeretynski, a man who at least knew how to give a courteous form to an odious régime, vexations, far from ceasing, increased in certain respects. The use of Russian was made obligatory in book-keeping and in the business correspondence of private societies; even railway notices in Polish were effaced, although foreign languages were permitted. The autonomous rights of the Communes were undermined, and their powers diminished. In the State administrations all the posts were given to Russians. Such few Polish functionaries as existed were sent into the central governments of the Empire, to the Caucasus, or to Siberia, while Russians were summoned to fill even the humblest posts vacant in the Kingdom.

In economic matters the Government always favoured the Central Provinces at the expense of the Kingdom, where the taxes were twice as high as in the rest of the Empire. Obstacles were set to any initiative. For many years every kind of association, political, literary, scientific, athletic, even economic and professional, was strictly prohibited. Poland still remained under the state of siege imposed in 1862, which gave the Administration and the Police unlimited scope for arbitrary conduct and for every kind of abuse; this state of things was all the more serious because the "personnel" imported from Russia was by no means of the highest class.

Owing to this implacable persecution, the Democratic-Nationalist Party grew at the expense of all the other political groups; for, though it kept within the law, it was the most energetic of all in resisting oppression and succeeded in making the workmen and the agricultural classes take part in the struggle.

Socialism increased considerably. The Socialists knew how to rally the proletariat, and took a very active part in the revolutionary movements of 1905—1906.

The Constitution of 1905 made it possible for the Poles to enter the Duma and there to form a Parliamentary opposition. The Democratic-Nationalists triumphed at the Polish elections over all the other parties. The elections to

the Council of Empire, however, went in favour of the Realist Party.

In 1905 the pupils of the higher and secondary schools proclaimed a boycott, demanding Polish education in the Kingdom of Poland. This boycott lasted, to a large extent, up to the time of the war.

Taking advantage of the calm which succeeded the events of 1905-1906, the Poles set themselves to work with zeal in every branch of national life. The new era, although little favourable to political progress, offered more or less propitious conditions for the work of organisation. Comparative liberty of the Press had been established, a more equitable Law of Association had been promulgated. Polish private schools were authorised. The Act of Religious Tolerance (1905) had made it possible, in spite of many restrictions, to leave the Orthodox Church. More than 200,000 people, formerly Uniats, who up to this time had been classed as Orthodox, seized the opportunity to declare themselves Catholics.

In Lithuania and Ruthenia the formation of associations was permitted, and also the issue of publications in Polish, which, for 50 years, had been absolutely forbidden. The Agrarian Ukase of 1865 was modified in one respect: the Poles were allowed to buy land; but, in order to prevent the increase of Polish property, the law exacted that the vendor must also be a Pole.

But the Government was not long in withdrawing the few concessions made during the revolutionary epoch. Literary, scientific, social and philanthropic associations which had rapidly grown up were dissolved on inadequate grounds; the progress accomplished at the price of arduous labour was thus reduced to nothing.¹⁰ In 1907 the number of Deputies from the Kingdom of Poland to the Duma was reduced from 34 to 12. Several anti-Polish laws, such as the restriction of electoral rights in Lithuania and Ruthenia, were put into operation by Stolypin, Prime Minister and leader of the Nationalist reaction. The project of municipal reform for the towns of the Kingdom was rejected by the Council of Empire. In 1912 a new Government was created, the Government of Chelm, which placed under the

¹⁰ See Chapter on Public Education.

direct rule of the Minister of the Interior territories formerly recognised as part of the Kingdom of Poland. They were thus subjected to a more intense Russification. This region, situated on the eastern frontier of the Kingdom, had belonged to Poland for nearly six centuries; the population of over 1,000,000 is in majority Catholic and Polish.

In spite of the political system which has tended to paralyse the best forces of the nation, the indefatigable efforts of the last few years have brought about great progress in all spheres of social life.

Austrian Poland. From its annexation in 1772 up to 1860, Galicia was governed in a centralising and German spirit. All the administrative and judicial institutions, all the educational establishments, were Germanised: the University of Zamosc was suppressed. The "Estates" of Galicia, created in 1817 in order to satisfy, in appearance, the Treaty of Vienna, were only the shadow of the promised national representation. Seldom convoked, these "Estates" had no rights beyond that of presenting petitions when the Government asked their advice upon certain affairs. Thus Galicia became a fruitful field for systematic exploitation by Austria. The functionaries, strangers to the population, checked all development and all social progress; the most modest national aspirations were the object of administrative repression. In its struggle with the Poles, the Government played off Poles against Ruthenes, and, following the principle "*Divide et Impera*," stirred up bad feeling between the people and the nobility.

The little Republic of Cracow, with its 120,000 inhabitants, led a humble existence, harassed by military occupations and by the intrigues of Resident Ministers representing the three Protecting Powers. It was at Cracow that the Revolution of 1846 began; it had been prepared by Polish emissaries who came from France, and aimed at the independence of Poland, together with the introduction of wide social reforms. In order to kill this movement at birth, Prince Metternich's Government did not hesitate to stir up class hatred. Secret agents, in the pay of the Austrian authorities, incited the peasants in certain regions of Galicia to sanguinary excesses against the nobility.

In 1846 the Republic of Cracow, in spite of the protests of France and England, was annexed by Austria, and became an integral part of Galicia.

The revolutionary troubles which broke out in 1848 throughout Europe were felt also in Austrian Poland. At Cracow and at Leopoldis, National Committees were formed; a petition was presented to the Emperor asking for constitutional liberties, for the official employment of the Polish language, for the abolition of forced labour (the *corvée*) among the peasantry, etc. The Central Government was not long in retaliating: Leopoldis and Cracow were bombarded. The Emperor Ferdinand took it upon himself to suppress the *corvée*, in order to deprive the Polish nobles of the credit of this measure.

In spite of all the obstacles purposely put in the way of their social and economic development, the Poles were soon in the van of the Federalist movement in Austria. The Constituent Assembly of Kromieryz (1849), which proposed to transform the Monarchy into a vast Federation, met under the presidency of a Pole, F. Smolka. This Assembly was without result. Under the absolutist ministry of Bach (1849—1859), a new period of reaction began in Galicia.

In 1859, after the unsuccessful war with Italy, the Emperor Francis-Joseph entrusted the Governorship of Galicia to a Pole, Count A. Goluchowski, who was the initiator of the first constitutional reforms. The new era was signalised by the Imperial Decree of October 20th, 1860, which was due to the influence of this eminent statesman. The Provinces, including Galicia, obtained autonomy, and the Diets were entrusted with a large part of the legislation; but this federal system was soon shaken by the attacks of the German centralisers. The Imperial Act of February 26th, 1861, under the Schmerling ministry, centralised the Constitution of the State and diminished the powers of the Provincial Diets, whose most important functions passed to the Imperial Parliament.¹¹ Up to 1873 this Parliament consisted of delegates sent by the Provincial Diets; under the Auersperg ministry the Diets were

¹¹ The present autonomy of the Austrian Provinces is based upon the "Decree of February."

deprived of this essential privilege. At present the electors nominate their deputies without the medium of the Diets.

After the unsuccessful war with Prussia (1866) domestic reform in the State made rapid progress. The Constitution of December 21st, 1867, definitively assured civic liberties and guaranteed equality of rights to the nationalities within the Monarchy. In spite of the protests of Russia (1867), these laws were applied also in regard to Galicia, which from this time forward was able to devote itself to the work of reconstruction.

The autonomy granted in 1861 had been a very narrow one: the greater part of the affairs of the country had remained under the control of the central power, and several very important national rights, that of language among others, had not been recognised. It was now necessary to acquire these rights and to amplify the autonomy. An energetic campaign resulted in some partial but decisive concessions. The whole administration of the country was once more entrusted to Poles: a Ministry for Galicia was created in 1871, whose function it was to deal with all matters and all nominations affecting Galicia. Polish was declared to be the official language of the Province. Ruthenian was admitted on a footing of equality with Polish in the Diet, the law-courts, the administration, and the local boards of Eastern Galicia. It became the medium of instruction in the numerous Ruthenian schools (Decree of June 5th, 1869.)

After the Parliamentary redistribution measure of 1873, which had a centralising tendency, the Poles, although lodging a protest against its legality, found themselves obliged to abandon a now useless opposition. The Polish Conservative party, called the "Stanczyk" Party, now governed in Galicia. Recognising the great advantages which the concessions of the Government—incomplete though they were—offered to the Polish nation, this party adopted a programme of practical work and organisation: it set itself completely against any policy of irreconciliation. Rallying loyally to the side of Austria, it condemned all revolutionary ideas, and was able to place at the service of the country men of remarkable political talent, such as Adam and Andrzej Potocki, Szujski, Dunajewski, Tarnowski,

Kozmian, and others. Special efforts were made to improve agriculture and the material resources of the Province, which a bad bureaucratic administration had ruined. An attempt was made to improve and nationalise public education which the German régime had left in a deplorable state. These efforts were only partly successful. Polish statesmen found themselves thwarted by lack of goodwill on the part of the government at Vienna, which systematically neglected the economic needs of Galicia. As is generally known, that part of the Imperial Budget which dealt with the Polish Province was cut down : the industrial regions of the Central Provinces were given protection to the detriment of the nascent industry and commerce of Galicia : the necessary regulation of the floods which devastated certain localities was continually postponed. Lastly, the revenue which the state annually extracted from Galicia exceeded the expenditure upon this province by nearly 120,000,000 crowns.

Nevertheless, the results achieved by the autonomous administration were far from being insignificant. The Diet had inherited from the bureaucratic period a debt of 60 million crowns : the country was exhausted, and nearly all sources of revenue had been captured by the State. Official figures prove how energetic and prudent was the administration of the Polish Diet. The greater part of the debt has already been paid off. The budget¹² for the first year of autonomy (1866) amounted to 1,558,000 crowns; that of 1914 reached nearly 90,000,000, that is to say, an increase of 5,900 per cent. During the same period the population increased from 5,445,000 (1869) to 8,025,000 (1910). Most remarkable of all has been the activity of the Diet in regard to education. In 1874 the educational budget under the autonomous régime amounted to 848,000 crowns; by 1914 it had reached 35,022,000 crowns. In 1868 there existed 2,476 primary schools; in 1911 there were 5,661. By 1913 only 25 Communes, viz., less than 0.4 per cent. of the Communes of the Province, were without schools. In 1871 156,000 children attended school; in 1911 the figure exceeded 1,248,000. As for secondary schools, in 1870 the country

¹² It is important to note that only a very small part of the taxes paid by Galicia accrues to the treasury of that province. The greater part is absorbed by the State. (See Finance.)

possessed only 20, with 7,500 pupils; by 1910 there were 112 secondary schools with 41,369 pupils. The number of public libraries has increased from 40 in 1874 to several thousand at the present day. (See Chapter on Public Education.)

The Diet has likewise attended to the economic resuscitation of the country. During the last few decades, a Polytechnic School, a College for advanced Agricultural Studies, a Veterinary College, and two Academies of Commerce and Industry have been founded. In 1868, only one technical school existed in Galicia. To-day, there are 153, for Agriculture, Cattle-raising, Gardening, Handicrafts, etc. In 1875, 694,800 crowns were spent on the Sanitary Service and Hospitals; in 1914, 9,263,000 crowns. Since 1873 more than 15,000 km. of paved roads and highways have been constructed; and the length of the railway lines has increased from 555 km. to 4,120 in 1911. The material welfare and social development of the population have sensibly advanced. In 1870, 15,000,000 crowns had been deposited in 10 Savings Banks; in 1912 the amount of these deposits rose to 337,000,000 crowns in 53 Banks. The Press was represented by 68 publications in 1875, and by 504 in 1914. In 1874 there were 590 Associations of various kinds, in 1911 there were 12,621.

Since 1873, the abnormal working of the Austrian Parliament, added to the obstinacy of German Centralists, has been an obstacle to the extension of provincial autonomy. Not until recent times has Galicia succeeded in obtaining a few concessions, such as extended powers of the Diet, of the Provincial Educational Council, etc.

In spite of the hesitating attitude and of the gross neglect so often shown by the Central Government to the interests of the Poles, the Polish Parliamentary Party has loyally upheld the interests of Austria, in which State alone have the Poles been accorded those rights which are indispensable to national development. In Parliament the Polish Party has played the part of arbiter, moderating the frequent struggles between different parties and nationalities. It has secured for itself a solid and important position. No ministry has been able to form a parliamentary majority or to keep in power without the support of the Poles.

In the course of the constitutional period, Poles have found themselves on three occasions at the head of the Cabinet : Count Agénor Goluchowski in 1860 ; Count Alfred Potocki in 1870 ; and Count Casimir Badeni in 1895. Many Poles—Smolka, Ziemalkowski, the two Goluchowskis, Grocholski, Dunajewski, Bilinski, Korytowski, Zaleski, Madeyski, etc., have played an important part in Austria as ministers, diplomatists, and privy councillors.

In 1896, under the Ministry of the Polish statesman Badeni, the law touching Parliamentary elections was extended by the creation of a fifth Curia. This liberal measure, which in 1907 culminated in complete universal suffrage, gave Galicia 106 seats in Parliament.

The relations between the Poles and the Ruthenes became more and more complicated as the general conditions of the country improved. For centuries the Ruthenes had possessed no educated class, the upper classes having become Polonised of their own free will in the 15th century.¹³ About the time of the constitutional reforms (1860), the Ruthenian population in Austria was almost exclusively composed of illiterate peasants, and the clergy alone possessed a certain amount of education. Since then, thanks to their own persevering efforts and to the liberal régime of the country, the Ruthenes of Galicia have achieved considerable progress in all branches of social life. They have 2,456 primary schools¹⁴ maintained by the State ; 10 training colleges with classes in both Ruthenian and Polish ; 9 secondary Ruthenian schools, and 2 with classes in both Ruthenian and Polish ; lastly, about a dozen Ruthenian professors and licentiates, who lecture in their own language at the Polish University of Lwów (Leopolis), and may be considered the nucleus of a future Ruthenian University.

Since the Middle Ages the Poles have formed a large part—at present nearly a third—of the population of Eastern Galicia, where they have always been active in promoting

¹³ The Ruthenes are at present distributed between Austria-Hungary ($\frac{1}{8}$ th) and Russia ($\frac{7}{8}$ ths). (See Country and Inhabitants.)

¹⁴ This represents 45.4 per cent. of the schools in Galicia, the Ruthenes themselves numbering 40.2 per cent. of the total population ; the Poles have only 54.1 per cent. of the schools, although they represent 58.55 per cent. of the population.

civilization and culture. The National movement among the Ruthenes did not in point of fact become marked until about fifty years ago. Desirous of securing a predominating position at the expense of the Poles, the Ruthenes have had recourse to measures of violence; they have stirred up the rural population, fomented riots at the University of Lwów, caused obstruction in the Diet, etc. The younger and more violent spirits have allowed themselves to be so far carried away as even to attempt to justify such crimes as the assassination of Lieut.-General Count A. Potocki by a Ruthenian student. The relations between these two peoples who live side by side in Eastern Galicia have been profoundly disturbed by these actions. This bitter conflict has, however, to a certain extent, calmed down, in consequence of the electoral reform carried in 1914, which considerably increased the number of Ruthenian Deputies in the Diet at Lwów. After long negotiations, during which the Polish parties gave proof of a moderate and conciliatory spirit, the existing Statutes underwent important modification. The Ruthenes obtained 62 seats, or 27.2 per cent. of the total number. They had formerly had only 22 members. The new Electoral Statute of Galicia is the most radical of all the laws relating to the different Diets of Austria.

The Ruthenes are divided into two principal parties, which fight each other with fury. According to the Russophil party, the Ruthenian people are only a branch of the Russian nation; according to the Ukrainian party, they are an absolutely distinct nation with a right to an independent existence.

To the other parts of Poland, oppressed and deprived of essential liberties, autonomous Galicia has, during the last 50 years, been the home of national thought: letters, art, and science have developed there in a marvellous way to the advantage of the entire nation.

The deep and wide-spread progress which has been made in spite of grave economic difficulties (See Science, Education, Economics) gives incontrovertible proof of the capabilities of the Polish people. Even within the restricted limits of Galician autonomy, their practical abilities have born fruit,—a fact which confirms their right to a national existence.

Prussian Poland. The Congress of Vienna, 1815, had decreed that the Polish provinces assigned to Prussia should have, equally with the other parts of ancient Poland, representation and national institutions. In his proclamation of May 15, 1815, Frederic William III, King of Prussia, Grand Duke of Poznan, addressed the Poles in the following words :

" You also have now obtained a Fatherland and at the same time a proof of my esteem for the attachment which you have shown to it. You are incorporated into my monarchy, but without being obliged to renounce your nationality . . . Your language shall be used with German in all public affairs, and every one of you, according to his abilities, shall be eligible for public employments in the Grand Duchy, and for all the offices, honours and dignities of my Kingdom."

However, the Polish population in East Prussia, West Prussia and Silesia did not obtain recognition of its national rights. The only exception made was in the Grand Duchy of Poznan, where those rights were recognised within very narrow limits, and where a Diet with much restricted powers was granted. The Polish language was admitted on a footing of equality with German into the law-courts, the administration, and the schools. Prince Radziwill, who had married a Hohenzollern, became Lieutenant-General of the Province. The Emancipation of the Peasants—a reform already decreed in 1811 for East Prussia, West Prussia and Silesia—was introduced into the Grand Duchy by a series of consecutive measures from the year 1823 onwards. This was done in a reasonable and prudent manner with the collaboration of the Polish proprietors.

After the Polish revolution in Russia (1830—1831), Prussian Poland, whose peace had not been disturbed, underwent the first assaults of Germanisation. The Lieutenant-Generalship was suppressed (1830). Flottwell, the President of the Grand-Duchy, inaugurated an anti-Polish system of politics. He gradually eliminated Polish functionaries from the administration and the Polish language from the schools; he devoted funds to the purchase of Polish lands, and towards 1840 took up anew Frederick the Second's old idea of compulsory expropriation, which was

actually carried out by the law of 1908. The Poles replied energetically, organised their social life, and devoted themselves to the spread of popular education. At each session the Diet brought forward petitions protesting against the abuses of the Prussian authorities.

On the accession of Frederic William IV (1840) a certain relaxation followed. Flottwell was transferred to Germany, the Polish language was allowed more liberty in the Press and in official institutions, and the Grand Duchy became the refuge of Polish science and literature, which were persecuted in Austria and Russia. Shortly afterwards the revolutionary agitation which took possession of Germany also seized on the Grand Duchy. In 1846 certain plots were discovered by the authorities, which led to the trial of the conspirators and of their leader Mieroslawski. Eight men were condemned to death; repression of every kind followed, and a rigorous censorship was established; but these measures served only to strengthen the revolutionary spirit among the masses of the people.

The German Revolution of 1848 was in sympathy with the Poles. The project of a war with Russia and of a personal union of Poland with Germany was very popular in the German Confederation. The King on his side promised the Grand Duchy a separate Constitution, an Army, and the use of Polish as the official language of the country. The Governmental spheres, however, were hostile to these projects. The Prussian military authorities showed hostility to the Polish Committee. This Committee, which really governed in the Grand Duchy, had, with the tacit consent of the civil authorities, formed the framework of a Polish Army intended to take part in the war against Russia. In spite of a written agreement with the Committee, the Prussian Army attacked the Poles without warning, and compelled the Polish battalions, few in number, to disperse, notwithstanding two engagements favourable to the Poles, at Miloslaw and Wrzesnia. The agents of the Government organised bands of German partisans which overran the Grand Duchy, attacked the defenceless Polish population, and committed innumerable acts of violence.

In 1850, despite the protests of the Polish Deputies, the incorporation of the Grand Duchy of Poznan with Prussia

was proclaimed. A series of persecuting measures followed. The existence of a Polish press was rendered impossible by the prohibition against sending Polish newspapers by post, a prohibition which lasted up to 1858. In its economic measures, the Government aimed at systematic destruction. Monastic property was confiscated and in large part devoted to the establishment of Protestant schools. The rights of the Polish language were more and more severely restricted.

What little remained of the special liberties of the Grand Duchy of Poznan soon disappeared. After the Franco-German war, during the epoch of the anti-Catholic *Kulturkampf* which began in 1873, Prussian Poland was subjected to particularly violent persecution. The liberty of the pulpit was attacked; the German language was made compulsory in the teaching of the Catholic religion; the Archbishop of Poznan, Cardinal Ledochowski, was imprisoned. Bismarck, in 1876, succeeded in passing a law by which German was declared the sole official language throughout the Empire. The Administration and the Judicature were filled with German functionaries. All schools were completely Germanised. In 1884, all Poles, who were not Prussian subjects, were banished from Prussian Poland, and a forced exodus of 40,000 Poles took place. In 1886, Bismarck, continuing the traditions of Flottwell and Frederic II, set up the Commission of Colonisation, which was endowed with a capital, afterwards increased, of 100,000,000 marks, intended for the purchase of Polish estates and the settlement of German colonists.

It seemed as if the accession of Wilhelm II would bring with it changes in the policy of the Government. There was a strong movement in favour of conciliation in Poznan. The Chancellor, Caprivi, made some slight concessions: the private teaching of the Polish language was to some extent permitted, and the zeal for Germanising somewhat abated. The Poles abandoned their policy of protest and opposition; it was even thanks to their votes that the budget for the increase of the German Navy was passed in 1893. However, Polish loyalty was not sufficient for the Government, which exacted an absolute renunciation of nationality. Bismarck, already in retirement, undertook an energetic anti-Polish campaign. The Ostmarkenverein had been

founded at his instigation in 1874. This Society, composed in great part of functionaries and ex-soldiers, under the pretext of propagating German culture, conducted an implacable war against the Polish element.¹⁵ The seed of hate sown by this Society germinated in all spheres of the German nation and produced fatal harvests. The dismissal of the Chancellor, Count Caprivi (1894), was followed by increased persecution. The Diet and the Upper Chamber of Prussia voted by an enormous majority a series of anti-Polish Laws of Exception. In 1904 a law was passed rendering it illegal to construct new rural dwellings without permission. The systematic refusal of permission made it impossible for the Poles to establish new homes on lands recently acquired. Immense sums were granted to the Commission of Colonisation. The names of a great number of towns and villages were Germanised. The ill-treatment inflicted on Polish children who used their mother tongue in school, and the introduction of German into the elementary classes as the medium for religious instruction, provoked the affair of Wreschen (1901). This was followed in 1906—1907 by a strike of more than 100,000 children, which was only put down by rigorous legal action and by the infliction of heavy fines on the parents. Under the Chancellor, von Bülow, in 1908, two laws, which roused the attention of the whole world, were passed against the Poles. One authorised the Government to appropriate Polish estates in order to strengthen the German element; the other forbade the employment of the Polish language at public meetings¹⁶ in all districts where less than 60 per cent. of the population were Poles. The first Polish land-owners were dispossessed in 1912. Projects of other anti-Polish laws were in preparation at the outbreak of war.

What, in view of these facts, has been the attitude of the Poles? Since 1897, the Polish Parties both in the Prussian Diet and in the Imperial Parliament have returned to a determined opposition. All classes of the population

¹⁵ The members of this Society are known by the name of "Hakatists," an appellation derived from the initials (H K T) of its principal founders: Hansemann, Kenneman, and Tiedemann.

¹⁶ Article 12 of the Law on Meetings and Associations. (See Political Systems.)

have set to work with energy and resolution. In spite of the 1,030,000,000 marks spent on German colonisation, the total area of land bought up by the Poles during the last 30 years exceeds that acquired by the Germans during the same period. Polish agriculture is flourishing. In the domain of commerce and industry, where the Germans have been masters up to the present, the Poles are beginning to make notable progress. The co-operative societies organised by Fr. Wawrzyniak, and the agricultural circles founded by Jackowski, have won the admiration even of German specialists. The working classes are organised into trade unions which number more than 80,000 members. The absence of schools and the prohibition, under severe penalties, of private education in Polish, is compensated for by a wide propaganda through newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and by the organisation of lectures. (See Chapters on Economics and Education.)

To sum up: persecution and oppression by so great a power as Prussia have not broken Polish resistance. On the contrary, its vigour has only been increased. By persecution, the Poles in Prussia have been welded into an indivisible whole, and all parties have sunk their differences for the sake of a perfect national solidarity. The whole population, peasants and workmen included, has become fully conscious of its national duties. In this last respect, moreover, the Poles have achieved, during the last few decades, a splendid and unexpected success: owing to the spontaneous re-awakening of the Polish national spirit in Upper Silesia—a province detached from Poland over six centuries ago—the hearts of a million and a half Poles, who had been regarded as lost, have been won back to the Motherland.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

EARLY HISTORY

ACCORDING to mediæval ideas, land was the property of the Sovereign-Prince, who accorded his subjects the right of enjoying its fruits in exchange for personal service or for returns in nature and kind. The peasants were free; prisoners of war, and criminals in punishment of their misdeeds, were reduced to slavery. Common soldiers had hardly more rights than peasants; the armed Knights alone possessed certain prerogatives. Round the fortresses populations gathered forming the germ of future towns, which grouped together the artisans and the merchants.

About the end of the 12th century, German immigrants began to penetrate into the western regions of Poland. This influx became more marked later on, after the Tartar invasions, which decimated the population of the country districts and above all injured the towns. The Princes granted special privileges to these new colonists.

The ancient Polish Commune had an essentially democratic character. It was governed by elders, and by assemblies composed of all the adult members of the Commune. The decisions of these assemblies required a majority of votes, and sometimes even complete unanimity was insisted on. The land of the Commune was ceded in usufruct in equal parts to all its members. Little by little the land became so much subdivided as to prejudice the interests of agriculture. Chaos ensued from these incessant divisions, and the German colonists introduced less primitive methods—the agricultural methods of the more advanced West. The German villages formed autonomous bodies, at the head of which were placed hereditary bailiffs ("soltys") with councils of elected worthies, upon whom devolved the duty of settling disputes. The properties which had been par-

celled out were once more brought together, and subjected to a more productive culture. The original inhabitants were not long in assimilating these methods, and soon all the communes of Poland were reformed upon this model.

The Towns likewise organised themselves, and their government was modelled upon the Custom of Magdebourg. In lieu of a bailiff, they had one or more Provosts ("wojt"). The merchants formed Guilds, the artisans strict Trade-Unions, which guarded their monopolies with jealous care. In course of time a Municipal Council was established, composed of representatives of the Guilds and Corporations, and presided over by a Burgomaster.

The idea of Property developed. In order to attract fighting men to their standards, the Princes gave the most valiant among them, in hereditary tenure, lands which were soon transformed into actual properties. These new masters of the soil obtained various privileges; they undertook, in return, to furnish a given number of armed men at each call of their chief. They were classed as Knights, and by the 13th century they had formed groups adopting, as was customary in the West, different battle-cries and escutcheons. This Knighthood took the name of "Szlachta" (Lesser nobility).¹

The Polish people had thus by the 13th century become definitively organised into quite distinct and solidly constituted classes.

THE PEASANTRY IN INDEPENDENT POLAND

At the beginning of the 15th century the right of owning land belonged only to the Sovereign, the Nobility, and the Clergy. The peasant was not formally the proprietor of his field: his obligations, however, were limited to the payment of a modest rent to his Lord, and of not very burdensome taxes to the State. He was permitted under certain conditions to quit the land which he cultivated; his Lord had no right either to evict him from the land, or to impose upon him greater burdens than those fixed by an assessment established in perpetuity. The

¹The evolution of the nobility has been sufficiently dealt with in the chapter on **History**; we shall therefore not return to it here.

peasant found protection and justice at the Royal Tribunal. The man of the soil was able to make economic progress, to gain instruction, and strengthen his position. The nobles, on the contrary, were obliged to support unaided the crushing weight of military service; and growing more and more numerous, they became proportionately poorer. In Lithuania the condition of the peasants was not so favourable; already in the 14th century they were being reduced to serfdom.

In the second half of the 15th century some essential changes began to take place. Before that time the Nobility itself had cultivated nearly one-fifth of the land, letting out the rest to the Peasantry. The annexation of Pomerelia, which had once more become Polish in 1466, gave Poland access to the sea and secured extensive outlets for the products of the soil. Foreign demand quickly raised the price of cereals and, in consequence, the revenue of the farmers.

The rents, which had remained fixed for two centuries, were no longer in proportion to the value of the land. The depreciation of money, which took place at about the same time, made the economic position of the landlord still worse. The nobility, therefore, made gradual efforts to recover the larger part of the lands given in feu, and tried to exploit them itself. *Corvées* were more and more substituted for rents, particularly in the case of lands recently cleared, and soon a far-reaching transformation took place. At the beginning of the 16th century, nearly four-fifths of the arable lands were still in the hands of the peasants. Little by little the nobility bought up the properties of the hereditary bailiffs (one-sixth of the soil under cultivation) and by this means obtained possession of their judicial functions, which it exercised henceforth over the peasantry. The increase of economic power in favour of the nobility was so rapid that, in the 16th century out of 5,500 villages in Greater Poland and Lesser Poland, 60 per cent. belonged to the nobility and only 40 per cent. to the King, the Magnates, and the Clergy.

Establishment of the *Corvée*. In 1520, the *Corvées* became a legal institution, and were fixed at one day's work a week, an arrangement still quite favourable for the tenant. In 1543 the law attached him to the soil, which was charac-

teristic of the tendencies of the period. As a matter of fact, however, the peasant who was discontented with his master could leave him without any great difficulty, profiting by the rivalry among the nobles, who for centuries were occupied in colonising the immense Lithuanian and Ruthenian territories, and were always ready to grant advantageous conditions to new settlers. Economic reasons, rather than the Code, actually determined the condition of the Polish peasants; so long as the prosperity of Poland lasted, there was nothing particularly unfavourable about their lot.

It was upon the peasantry, however, that from the middle of the 17th century the whole weight of the ruin of the country fell.

The influence of the Reformation in the 16th century did not improve the condition of the villagers. It must not be forgotten that Luther favoured the severest measures against all popular movements; the Polish Arians alone championed the interests of the people. Humanism, imbued with Pagan traditions, admitted social inequalities and even regarded slavery as natural.

Corvées multiplied: in the 17th and 18th centuries they absorbed four or five days' labour a week. The authority of the landlord became exorbitant. The mill and distillery adjoining the Castle had a monopoly; the peasant was forced to make use of them under penalty of taxation. He was even forced to buy his salt from the landlord. The returns of cultivation diminished and, towards the middle of the 18th century, the labourer, unwilling to toil for the fruits which another reaped, lived in sloth, ignorance, and misery. This is a sombre picture, but it is necessary to remember that the peasants only participated in the calamities of the whole nation. The inferior ranks of the nobility, thousands of members of the "Szlachta," led an existence hardly less miserable than the "villeins."

Generally speaking, however, the Polish peasant was subjected to a régime less hard than that of the peasantry of Western Europe. Not to mention Germany, where the lot of the village people was often intolerable, in France, "Jacques Bonhomme" was, until the Revolution, in a state of abject economic dependence. At the mercy of the

"taille," victim of the "gabelle" of the King, and of the "Banalités" of his Lord (which corresponded exactly with the monopolies of the Polish Lords), the French peasant had three-fourths of his revenues absorbed by different exactions. In Poland, the gentleness inherent in the Polish race mitigated the rigour of the laws, which were in any case far more indulgent than certain Draconian statutes in the German codes; they were even, in a measure, less harsh than those of France and England.² Be this as it may, Poland never had to reproach herself with those "jacqueries" which disgraced other countries.

Nothing does Poland more honour than the wise and patriotic declarations which her writers and statesmen, from the 16th century onwards, made in favour of the peasants. These declarations were in advance of the spirit of the time (see **Literature**), but were not without result. In the 17th century there were frequent cases of enfranchisement freely granted by great nobles, such as Krasinski, Palatine of Podolia, and Leo Sapieha.

In the 18th century, under the influence of the economic doctrine of the Physiocrats, these ideas prospered and the necessity of remedying social injustices was generally recognised. Pamphlets on the subject abounded; there were polemics in the public news-sheets; progressive ideas made way, in spite of routine and obscurantism. Many wealthy citizens voluntarily carried out these reforms—Chreptowicz, Brzostowski, A. Zamoyski, Malachowski, Poniatowski, Potocki, and others.

In 1777, the lands which the peasants cultivated on the royal domains were given them in tenancy. The Grand Diet drew up a plan of reforms: the peasantry were to be given access to the tribunals of the State; in each commune a school was to be erected where attendance was to be compulsory; Polish peasants who had emigrated were to be declared free on returning to their homes, as well as all strangers from any part of the world who should come to

²It was not rare for peasants from Russia and Prussia to seek refuge in Poland; in Lithuania and Ruthenia there are still to be found villages of "Starovers," an Orthodox sect which, in the 17th and 18th centuries, fled from persecution in their own country to find in Poland religious liberty and tolerable conditions of life.

settle in Poland. These beneficent measures were guaranteed by the Constitution of the Third of May, 1791.

A further step was made when Kosciuszko, Commander-in-Chief of the troops of the Republic, granted, by his Manifesto of Polaniec, May 7th, 1794, individual liberty to every peasant who enrolled himself voluntarily in the army. He also fixed the maximum of the corvées at two days a week. In all this, Poland followed closely the example of regenerated France, and was much in advance of the three enemy Powers who were soon to annihilate her reforms, and plunge the peasants once more for many long years into ignorance and servitude.

THE MIDDLE CLASS IN INDEPENDENT POLAND

As has been pointed out, the Polish urban population, from the 13th century onwards, was organised on an autonomous basis and governed according to the Custom of Magdebourg. In the 15th century the towns of Lithuania and Ruthenia began to adopt the same organisation. Situated on the great commercial routes of Continental Europe, the Polish cities levied a toll on travelling merchants, who were obliged in addition to sell certain kinds of merchandise, either wholly or in part, to the warehouses of the towns. Exchanges abounded. The towns maintained constant relations with the commercial centres of West and East.

In the 14th and 15th centuries, the economic and political power of the Polish towns was at its height. They enjoyed their own jurisdiction, their own administration; they furnished funds for the enterprises of the Sovereign and of the State, and sent delegates to the Diets. They were subjected only to occasional imposts, collected from time to time for the needs of the State. Poznan, Kraków (Cracow), Wrocław (Breslau), Lwów (Lemberg), Lublin, were markets of the first class, and Toruń (Thorn) was rightly called "the Queen of the Vistula," for the vast trade of that river was concentrated within her walls.

In the West of Europe, the towns lent the King energetic support in his struggles against the encroachments of feudalism and of the nobility. It was otherwise in Poland.

The Polish towns, peopled in part by immigrants who had come from Germany in the 13th century, preserved for a very long time a semi-German character, thanks to the tolerance and liberalism of the Poles. Sunk in their own selfish interests, the towns put themselves, as it were, outside the public life of the country and were unwilling to participate in any political action that required sacrifice or burden or the payment of heavy taxes to the State. It is to this short-sighted view, to this apathy, that we must attribute the feeble resistance made by the towns to the usurpations of the nobility. Nevertheless—and this well illustrates the tenacity of the Polish race—the towns gradually and without violence re-assumed their ancient Polish character. By the end of the 16th century, the re-Polonising of the towns was an accomplished fact; but it was then too late to recover the political privileges which had been lost.

The nobility were clever enough to turn to account the political indifference of the urban classes, and thus little by little to reduce their prerogatives. As a first step, nobles residing in the towns became exempt from the municipal laws. In 1496, the middle classes lost the right of purchasing land outside the immediate neighbourhood of the towns. Under the menacing pressure of the nobility, the towns were forced to renounce their representation in the Diets. Their commercial and industrial monopolies were fiercely attacked: an enormous breach was soon made in them by the exemption from customs-duties of all merchandise destined for a noble. The produce of seigniorial lands was also freed from all dues. Thus the nobility, after getting political power into its hands, advanced by degrees to the complete economic domination of the State. Jealous of its privileges, it was, however, not exclusive. A number of great Polish families are of middle-class origin, and the facility with which the middle classes could attain nobility helps to explain their passive attitude.

Other factors helped to undermine the commercial welfare and importance of the middle class. The conquest of the shores of the Black Sea by the Turks in the 15th century, and the discovery of America, completely changed the direction of Central European commerce, dethroning

Venice and Genoa. From that time onwards the Atlantic was to be the grand route of international trade : Portugal, Denmark, Holland—England above all—were to rule the world's trade. The principal source of the wealth of Polish as well as of German towns—Continental transit—was dried up. Hardly anything remained to them except home trade. On the other hand, the ports of the Polish provinces of Prussia on the Baltic increased in prosperity. Gdansk (Dantzic), an ancient member of the Hansa League, soon placed herself at their head, and became the chief city for the exportation of Polish cereals.

Polish Industry, which formerly had supplied the needs of the country, was unable to defend itself against foreign competition, after the suppression of the monopolies which the local guilds had enjoyed. Dutch and English goods (cloth in particular) almost entirely supplanted the home product in the course of the 17th century. The bad monetary and financial policy of the Republic helped to lower the economic condition of the State and affected the prosperity of the towns.

The Jews played a quite distinctive part in the social development of Poland. During the Middle Ages they fled to Poland in large numbers, in order to escape the persecutions and cruelties to which they were subject in Germany and Western Europe. In 1264 they were granted, in some districts, certain judicial privileges, and the right of organising autonomous religious communities. Kazimierz the Great extended this privilege to the whole of Poland.

In the 16th century there came a new influx of Jews expelled from German towns, from England, and from Spain. It should be remembered that if at times the Jews were, even in Poland, subjected to certain coercive measures, to certain humiliations, they were nevertheless better treated there than in the whole of the rest of Europe. It was in Poland that they enjoyed the widest tolerance and the greatest liberty. They were permitted to acquire land, a right withheld from the Christian middle class. They had their own organisations, their own schools, and formed a self-governing community possessing very wide liberties. They were subject only to the royal jurisdiction. The Jews

in comparison with the Polish middle class represented a highly privileged element.³

The Jews, in the beginning, played a very useful part in the economic life of Poland, by contributing to the vigour of her commerce and industry. Little by little, however, they took advantage of the rivalry between the nobility and the middle class to usurp step by step the place of the latter, both in commerce and finance. Established in compact masses, and held back by very rigorous ethnical and religious barriers, they were less amenable in Poland than elsewhere to the assimilating influences of environment. This separatism made itself particularly felt after the loss of Polish independence.

External causes also contributed to the decline of the middle class, notably the wars with the Cossacks and with Sweden, which reduced the greater part of the towns to ashes. A single instance will suffice to illustrate the fluctuating economic situation of this period. In 1648, 150,000 lasts of Polish grain were exported from Gdansk (Dantzic); in 1659, after the Swedish war, only 510.

Regeneration of the Towns. Nevertheless, some improvement was shown at the end of the 18th century. Men like Czartoryski and Radziwill strove to revive the prosperity of the artisan; Tyzenhaus, Lubomirski, Jezierski, fostered industry. The monetary, fiscal, and financial reforms introduced by King Stanislaus-Augustus helped effectively. In spite of the economic obstacles raised by neighbouring States, especially by Prussia, prosperity returned to the towns. Warsaw, which had only 13,500 inhabitants in 1750, had nearly 100,000 in 1878. (872,000 in 1913.)

Under the influence of the approaching French Revolution, an agitation began among the middle classes. But, whereas, in France, the Third Estate obtained equality of rights only after violent struggles, in Poland, the nobility spontaneously recognised the error it had committed, and restored to the middle class its fundamental liberties. These

³ This advantageous situation was the motive which determined the settlement in Poland of the immense majority of European Jews. At the time of the Partitions, the number of Jews in Poland was almost double that of the Christian middle class.

were finally ratified by the Constitution of May 3, 1791. The middle classes soon appeared in the forefront of the defenders of their country.

Gdansk and Torun, in spite of a large German population, protested violently against annexation by Prussia, and solemnly proclaimed their patriotic Polish sentiments.

From this it will be seen that two democratic reforms, carrying with them the promise of many others, were realised without bloodshed in Poland at the end of the 18th century, at the very moment when three autocratic Powers were about to annihilate this State, on the pretext that it was unfit for an independent political existence.

THE PEASANTRY AFTER THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

Far from persevering in the way marked out by the Republic, the States which had partitioned Poland destroyed the progressive movement and the reforms which had been made at the end of the 18th century.

In the Duchy of Warsaw, the Code Napoleon, put into operation in 1808, freed the peasants from serfdom without giving them land. The liberated peasant on leaving his lord lost all rights over his fields and possessions. His economic dependence thus remained the same in regard to the seigneurial domain. Continual wars and incessant political changes prevented the ephemeral Duchy of Warsaw from introducing the reforms necessary to complete the emancipation of the peasants.

Prussian Poland. It was in Prussia that the emancipation of the peasants was first definitely carried out. The first step was the suppression of serfdom; in 1811 in East Prussia, West Prussia and Silesia, and in 1823 in the Grand Duchy of Poznan, a law abolished the *corvée* and gave the peasants the lands which they cultivated. Normal relations were soon established between the great and small proprietors. Compulsory education, although given in German, favoured the development of the popular Polish Press by reducing the number of illiterates. From 1862 onwards agricultural associations began to develop rapidly: agricultural unions, financial societies, corn merchants' unions ("Rolniki"), land agencies, etc. The reawakening

of national sentiment among the working-classes made such progress that Upper Silesia, which had been subjected for several centuries to German domination, returned spontaneously to a consciousness of its Polish nationality.

Galicia. In Galicia the Polish provincial Estates, composed of representatives of the clergy, of the magnates, of the nobility, and also of certain towns, repeatedly proclaimed the necessity of making the peasant the owner of his land. These demands found no response from the Austrian Government, which, on the contrary, made matters worse by obliging the great proprietors themselves to collect the taxes with which the peasants had been burdened by the State. It exploited to its own advantage the antagonism thus kindled, and in 1846 its agents even succeeded in provoking a massacre of Polish landowners by the peasantry. It hoped in this way to thwart a Polish insurrection which was on the point of breaking out.

But the firm intention of introducing reforms, openly expressed by the Galician nobility after the Revolution of 1848, obliged the Emperor Ferdinand to sign a rescript in the same year, granting the peasants proprietorship of the land on which they lived. The Government, however, deliberately refused to suppress the forest servitudes and the right to free pasture, or to fix the mode of indemnifying the landlords. Thus all normal development of agriculture was for a long time arrested; and the standard of education remained also very low. It is only since 1867, during the constitutional period, that a sensible improvement has taken place in this branch of the life of the country. Following the example set in Prussian Poland, various Societies have been founded, including "The People's Schools Association," "The Agricultural Circles Association," and several associations of Savings Banks and Land Purchase Banks.

The Kingdom of Poland (Russian Poland), as geographically defined in 1815, not possessing the right of initiating legislation, did not during its fifteen years of autonomous existence, succeed in carrying out any important reforms in the interest of the rural population. The insurrectionary Diet of 1831 drew up a plan for replacing the *corvées* among the peasants on the State domains by a fixed rent, but it had no time to put this plan into execution. It was only

later on, in 1833, that the Russian Government introduced these very reforms on the properties which had been newly confiscated from Poles and given to Russians; and it was not until 1841 that it introduced them on the lands belonging to the State.

In 1846 a Ukase by Nicolas I made it obligatory to specify the corvées to which the peasants were subjected. In 1858 appeared ordinances according to which the landlords might change the corvée for a quit-rent, a thing not hitherto permitted. In 1861, the Agricultural Society of the Kingdom of Poland, in the presence of 1,000 members, decided to substitute rents for corvées; the peasants, by redeeming these, could become absolute owners of their land. The Revolutionary Government of 1863 went further and decreed that the peasants should be put gratuitously in possession of the soil. After the repression of the insurrection, the Russian Government abolished the corvée and, on March 2, 1864, brought in agrarian reforms in the hope of gaining the sympathy of the Polish peasant. Nevertheless, it maintained the servitudes and the intermixture of landed properties, causes of inevitable conflict between the great landed proprietors and the peasantry. (See **Agriculture.**)

Lithuania and Ruthenia. The solution of the agrarian question took a somewhat different course in Lithuania and Ruthenia, countries which had been subjected for a long time to a special system of Russification. In 1819, the proprietors of the district of Dunaburg and, a little later, those of the Government of Grodno, demanded that the peasants should be given land. This the Government refused. The Polish proprietors in the Government of Wolhynia fell into disgrace for making similar proposals, and the marshals of the nobility were placed under the surveillance of the police. Nevertheless, the great Polish proprietors of the Government of Wilno addressed a new petition to high quarters in favour of the emancipation of the peasants. This initiative on the part of the Polish nobility had memorable results, and influenced the fortunes of the agrarian reform proclaimed throughout Russia in 1861. Meanwhile, the prohibition of all social and commercial organisations and the appalling lack of

primary schools—not only in Lithuania and Ruthenia but also in the Kingdom—exercised a fatal influence upon the development of the peasant class. The efforts of the educated classes to enlighten the people were regarded with disfavour by the Government, and had no appreciable results until several decades later.

The Revolution of 1905, and the change of régime which followed, brought about the suppression of the censorship, freedom of association, etc. It was then possible to form agricultural unions, financial, commercial, and educational societies, of which a great number have come into existence in less than ten years.

The importance of the peasant class grew with the increase of small proprietorship. In the Grand-Duchy of Poznań and in West Prussia, from 1886 onwards, small properties became more numerous owing to the breaking up of the great estates. This movement was brought about partly by the Polish Banks, which enabled the Polish peasant to buy land, and partly by the Commission for German Colonisation, which purchased Polish estates in order to divide them among its colonists. Thus, between 1895 and 1906 the great landowners lost 324,000 hectares in Poznań and West Prussia. In Galicia, the great landowners in 1886 held 42.4 per cent. of the total area of the country, while in 1902 they held only 37.2 per cent.

In the Kingdom of Poland, from 1875 onwards, 2,224,171 hectares of land passed into the hands of the peasants, who possessed at the outbreak of war 70 per cent. of the land under cultivation.

To sum up, in the three parts of Poland, more than two-thirds of the land under cultivation is the property of the peasant population. (See **Agriculture.**)

THE MIDDLE CLASS AFTER THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

Prussian Poland. From the Partition of Poland up to the second half of the 19th century, the conditions under which the middle class lived grew steadily worse. The pitiless economic exploitation of Poland, the protection accorded by the co-partitioning Governments to the manu-

factures of their own central provinces, and finally, the preponderance of the Jews in commercial and financial affairs, made it impossible, up to the middle of the 19th century, for the Polish lower middle class to do more than exist. It was only from that period onwards that conditions improved, especially in Prussian Poland. Up till then the Polish towns of Prussia had suffered themselves to be more or less Germanised. In the last 50 years, however, signs of de-Germanisation have become manifest. Thus, in the towns of the Grand-Duchy of Poznania, between 1871 and 1895, the permanent Protestant population increased by 3 per cent.; the Catholic (Polish) population by 29 per cent.; whereas the Jewish population diminished by 41 per cent. In the period 1878 to 1898 the number of Polish artisans increased from 36 per cent. to 49.8 per cent., and the number of Polish factory hands from 22.7 per cent. to 36.8 per cent.

In Galicia, the Polish element in the towns consists of employees, small tradesmen, artisans and members of the liberal professions. Industrial development is backward, and commerce is monopolised by the Jews. The migration from the country to the towns is slow, and in the ten years between 1890 and 1900 amounted to only 2.1 per cent.

In the Kingdom, the urban population, in the period 1872—1909, increased from 16.2 per cent. to 23.3 per cent. of the total population. It rose to 31.5 per cent. in 1912, if we include the inhabitants of the boroughs. In 1909, the Israelites formed 40.2 per cent. of the inhabitants of the towns. This situation has grown worse in the last few years owing to the continual influx of Jews from Lithuania and the Ukraine (known as Litwaks). Though oppressed and humiliated by the reactionary policy of the Russian Government, these immigrants have nevertheless acted in Poland as uncompromising champions of Russian Nationalism and Russification. Their attitude has given rise to political conflicts, to Press campaigns and to measures for the economic liberation of the Polish population. These measures included a general understanding that Poles should purchase exclusively from Poles. Co-operative Societies of all kinds were organised in spite of the violent opposition of the Jews. Notwithstanding the fierce economic struggle, no

collective acts of violence against the Jews have ever occurred in Poland.

Decline of the "Szlachta." The lesser nobility, which had presided over the destinies of Poland to the exclusion of other classes, lost in the 19th century its preponderance and even its character as a distinct social class. Apart from proprietors of large and medium estates, the lesser nobility, which was very numerous, came to occupy a position scarcely different from that of the peasantry. Furthermore, many nobles acquired a notable position in the ranks of the liberal professions, in commerce, and in industry. Meanwhile, the masses of the people, the middle classes of the towns, the working classes and the peasantry have continued to advance. Already strong in numbers, their strength has greatly increased through a consciousness, steadily growing clearer, of the political and economic part which they are destined to play in the national life. Women of every rank have also taken an active part in this general movement. All classes of the population, animated by a profound sentiment of patriotism, have united their efforts for the reconstruction of their country.

Contemporary Poland is a democratic country, proud of its brilliant past and of the historic mission which it once fulfilled, and which it will fulfil again, when normally reconstituted.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

KINGDOM OF POLAND

THE Kingdom of Poland, in its present form, is composed of a part of the territories of the former Republic which were assigned to Russia in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna.¹

After the Revolution of 1830—1831, the Constitution granted by Alexander I was abrogated, and the Kingdom, deprived of its Army, of its Diet, and of its autonomy, was from that time forward governed as a province of the Russian Empire, under the ever-increasing control of the central authorities. From 1831 onwards, the Russian Government, save for a passing return to liberalism in 1861—1863, continued to pursue a policy of Russification and political repression.

The Manifesto of October 30th, 1905, was the starting point of constitutional reforms in Russia. The laws of election to the Duma, based on a class system (Rural Curia, Landed Property Curia, Urban Curia), and on the principle of indirect election, did not make any special restrictions in regard to nationality. Nevertheless, by the non-constitutional act of June 3rd, 1907, the electoral statute was altered to the disadvantage of all elements of non-Russian nationality—to the disadvantage of the Poles above all. The number of seats in the Duma allotted to the Kingdom was reduced from 34 to 12 out of a total of 478 members, with the result that in Russia a deputy represents on an average 300,000 inhabitants whereas in the Kingdom he represents 1,000,000. Furthermore, the Russians

¹ The administrative divisions of Russia, which may be compared to French departments, are known as "governments."



KINGDOM OF POLAND.

+-+--+ Boundary of the Kingdom of Poland.

... Boundaries of the governments.

⊙ Government capitals

○ Other towns of importance.

The figures given indicate, in thousands, the Polish population of the district on Jan. 1st, 1911.

obtained two deputies for the 130,000 Russians who live in the Kingdom. (Electoral districts of Warsaw and Chelm.)

Among the 198 members of the Council of Empire, at the time of writing, only 6 represent the Kingdom.

Communal Autonomy. Local autonomy, which Russia has enjoyed since 1864, has never been introduced into the Kingdom. All the ancient Polish autonomous institutions have disappeared one after the other. Thus the Kingdom, with a population of 12,476,000 (1911), possesses to-day no form of autonomy, either as regards the Governments, the Districts or the Towns.

An exception has been made in favour of rural communes, which have been granted autonomous powers extensive in theory but limited in practice. The rural commune includes all classes of society. It chooses its functionaries, and the members of the communal tribunal; it administers its own property, constructs and maintains the roads of the district, controls the primary national schools, presides over the assessment of taxes, etc. All these matters are under the control of the communal assembly. The Mayor (Wojt) is at one and the same time the executive authority of the commune, and a functionary of the State. The communal authorities are closely watched by the police, and possess no real independence. They are all the more at the mercy of the Administration, as the peasants are ignorant of the Russian language, which has been made compulsory in the transaction of communal affairs.

Administration. Since the suppression of the post of Lieutenant-General in 1875, the Kingdom has been under a Governor-General, who presides over the ten following governments: Warsaw, Plock, Kalisz, Piotrkow, Kielce, Radom, Lublin, Siedlce, Lomza, Suwalki. These are divided into 84 districts.

In 1912, certain districts were detached from the Governments of Lublin and Siedlce, and out of these a new government was formed. This was called the government of Chelm, and it was put under the direct administration of the Ministry of the Interior. The government of Siedlce was suppressed. (See **History**).

Owing to the absence of autonomous institutions (outside the rural communes) their place has inevitably been taken

by State Departments, which are completely staffed by Russians. One of the principal peculiarities of the administration of the Kingdom is its absolute dependence on the distant central authorities at Petrograd. This centralisation of all the functions of the immense Empire is felt in Poland more than in any other part of the Russian Empire. The powers of the Governor-General of Warsaw may serve as an example. He represents the Emperor and is Commander-in-Chief of the whole district; yet in all that concerns the affairs of the country (public education, social and economic progress, agriculture, industry, communications, etc.) he has practically no power of initiative. Even in his own domain, that of political administration, the Governor-General is almost entirely subject to the central authority at Petrograd, which monopolizes all initiative. All ten Governors are in the same position; they are entirely under the thumb of the central authority. Their powers, on the other hand, are only too extensive in all that relates to political repression. Here the prerogatives and activities of the administration are almost unlimited, thanks to the "state of exception" in which, under various forms, the Kingdom has been kept for the last 50 years. This gives the Governor-General and the Governors of the "governments" the right of issuing "obligatory prescriptions," and of punishing any infraction of them without having recourse to the law-courts and without incurring any responsibility. Thus, for example, the Governor-General may, on his own responsibility, suppress private schools, suspend newspapers, dissolve associations, close down factories or place them under temporary sequestration, deport suspected persons into the interior of the Empire, or to Siberia, bring certain affairs before courts of military jurisdiction, etc. He is assisted by three Adjutants, for civil, military, and political affairs, respectively.

The Governor of a "government" performs the same functions, and possesses similar prerogatives, though on a more reduced scale. He is president of a Government Board, consisting of six sections, to which are entrusted the affairs of the towns and villages: political supervision, public safety, recruiting, ecclesiastical, economic and

sanitary questions, poor relief, hospitals, roads, public buildings, etc. The Governor is assisted by a Vice-Governor.

The District Chief, with two assistants for administrative and military matters, is the supreme authority of the district. He presides over the District Board and has complete control of the local police, and of local administration. The districts are composed of communes, in which the Mayor and Aldermen (Wojt, Soltys) of each village perform inferior administrative and political functions.

The management of the affairs of the Towns is in the hands of Municipal Boards, composed of functionaries nominated by the government, which also nominates the councillors, chosen from among the citizens of the town and having a merely consultative voice. In the larger towns the presidents (Burgomasters) are at the head of urban, financial, and technical committees. The budgets of the towns, and almost all decisions taken, even those of the least importance, have to be sanctioned by the central authorities. For a long time the Russian Government itself has recognised that the administrative organisation of the towns in the Kingdom is antiquated and unprogressive; nevertheless, for purely political reasons, the citizens have not been allowed to manage their own municipal affairs.²

Financial and fiscal affairs are dealt with by the Treasury Boards, whose duty it is to collect the government and district dues. There exist, besides, three State Audit Boards, three Departments for the administration of State properties, and of the post and telegraph offices. Even works of charity are managed by the bureaucratic Public Charity Councils of the "Governments" and Districts. The Russian language is exclusively employed in all these administrative bodies, as also in the excise offices, in the customs, in military recruiting, and even in the secretarial offices of the communes. The official Factory Inspectorships, which ostensibly protect the interests of the working classes, are principally used for political purposes. A

² In 1912 the government drew up a very limited plan of municipal autonomy for the Kingdom, but this had not become law when the war broke out.

peculiar mission is assigned to the Rural Commissions and Commissioners: they are charged with the political supervision of the peasants, and are expected to keep them from the influence of the educated Polish classes.

Administration of Justice. The Civil Law exhibits to this day one of the most marked of the peculiarities which distinguish the Kingdom of Poland from Russia. Since 1808, the Code Napoleon has been employed in Poland; and since 1809 the French Commercial Code with a few subsequent amendments: for instance, the French law regarding the family was amended in conformity with Polish sentiment in 1825, during the brief period of autonomy which the Kingdom then enjoyed. It was also during the period between 1818 and 1825 that certain improvements, of which Polish legislators are justly proud, were introduced into the law concerning mortgages.

On repeated occasions the Russian Government has vainly tried to reduce the laws of the Kingdom to uniformity with those of the Empire, in spite of the different social structure of Poland which resembles that of Western Europe, and in spite of the superiority of the Polono-French laws which have taken deep root in the country. But the Marriage Law alone was altered on the reactionary lines of the Russian law (1836). The new Russian Civil Code, now in preparation, was to have been applied to the Kingdom; but the war has not allowed this project to be put into execution. On the other hand, the Penal Code (1848), all the judicial procedure, and the composition of the courts of law (since 1876), are now nearly the same in the Kingdom of Poland and the Russian Empire, with the exception of the Jury and elective Justices of the Peace, institutions which for political reasons have not been established in the Kingdom. In 1876, the two Polish departments of the Senate (Chambers 9 and 10), which sat at Warsaw, were abolished.

The court of first instance for the country districts is the Communal Court, with one Judge and two elected Assessors. In the towns, the function of this court is performed by Justices of the Peace, nominated by the Government; they are all Russians. Appeals from the judgments of these two legal bodies are heard in the Assembly of Justices of

the Peace and Judges of the Communes of which there are 22 in the Kingdom. The Senate at Petrograd is the Court of Final Appeal from the verdicts of these Assemblies.

More important cases are dealt with by ten Circuit Tribunals, from which there is a right of appeal to the Court of Appeal at Warsaw, the Senate at Petrograd being the Court of Final Appeal.

A special Tribunal of Commerce exists in the Government and Town of Warsaw. This is the only one in the Kingdom.

Legal Chambers do not exist in the Kingdom. In regard to discipline, lawyers are under the Circuit Tribunals, which fulfil the function of Chambers.

The use of Russian is obligatory in all judicial procedure, to the complete exclusion of the Polish language. Witnesses are assisted by an interpreter; for the magistrates in Poland are in general not only ignorant of the language of the country, but are actually forbidden to use it. Up to 1876, judicial posts were almost exclusively occupied by Poles. Since that date, they have been excluded with such jealous care that in 1914 there was no longer a single Pole to be found in the Court of Appeal at Warsaw, at the Procurator's Office, or among the Justices of the Peace. Among the 156 members of the Circuit Tribunals there are still nine Poles, nominated under the old system.

Poles elected as Communal Judges very often fail to obtain confirmation of their election by the Government, which in that case nominates its own candidates.

Public Education. In regard to the organisation of public education, the Kingdom is termed the "Circumscription of Warsaw." At its head is a Curator, with an Educational Department in each of the ten governments. This Circumscription is under the Ministry of Public Education at Petrograd; technical schools, however, are under the Ministries of Industry, Commerce, and Agriculture, respectively. The functions of Curators, Directors, and School Inspectors in the Circumscription are of a purely administrative and bureaucratic nature. The expenses of Higher and Secondary Education are borne by the State; those of Primary Education, by the Towns and Communes. In all the State Schools, Russian is the sole medium of

instruction. In the Higher and Secondary Schools Polish is an optional subject. In the Primary Schools, since 1905, the Polish language has been taught in Polish, Russian in Russian, arithmetic in Polish or Russian, according to the nationality of the teachers nominated by the authorities. Lessons are given in Polish in private Polish schools; but the diplomas granted by these schools have no official value, and even there several subjects may not be taught except in Russian, and by Russians. The use of Polish is forbidden in Protestant and Israelite Schools; yet German or Yiddish are allowed. All private teaching outside the family circle is visited by severe administrative penalties. There are hardly any Poles among the teachers in the Secondary State Schools. Polish students are neither admitted to the Military Academies at Petrograd, nor yet to certain colleges (Philological Institute of Niezyn, etc.).

Religious Denominations. After a rupture which lasted over thirty years, from 1863 till 1894, Russia has once more established official relations with the Vatican, through the intermediary of a Minister resident in Rome. The Russian Government, however, refuses to admit a Nuncio from the Holy See at Petrograd.

All religious denominations, with the exception of the Orthodox, are under the Ministry of the Interior. This Ministry, through its Department of Foreign Denominations, regulates not merely temporal affairs, but often also questions of a spiritual nature. Thus, the communications of ecclesiastical authorities with Rome, the transmission of bulls and papal encyclicals, take place through the "Department"; priests, deprived by governmental decision, are not allowed to exercise their ministry, and are forbidden, under heavy penalties, to say Mass or administer the Sacraments.

Under the same Department is the Roman Catholic College composed of Catholic ecclesiastics which is charged with the internal administration of the Church. This "College," whose authority has not been recognised by the Holy See, was instituted by the Government in 1867 in order to subject the Church to stricter surveillance.

The Metropolitan Archbishop of Mohylow, with a seat at Petrograd, presides over the "College," and is also at

the head of the Ecclesiastical Academy, which was transferred in 1842 from Wilno to the capital of the Empire.

The Kingdom of Poland is divided into seven Catholic Dioceses: the Metropolitan Archbishopric of Warsaw; the Bishoprics of Kalisz, Plock, Lublin, Sandomir, Kielce and Sejny. There are 1,952 churches, and 3,098 priests.

The different dignitaries and functionaries of the Catholic Church are dependent for the confirmation of their appointments upon the Emperor, the Ministers, the Governor-General, and the Curator of the Circumscription, according to their respective rank. Throughout the scale of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, priests are treated as State employés, in strict subjection to the civil administration. The Ministry of the Interior has the power, without recourse to tribunals, of depriving any priest whose activity seems to him suspicious. Bishops are forbidden to leave their dioceses without previous authorisation from the Minister. Parish priests are subject to similar restrictions within the limits of their districts. The use of the Russian language is alone permitted in all correspondence with the State authorities. The ecclesiastical authorities are not allowed to correspond among themselves except in Russian or Latin: Polish is absolutely forbidden. They are even forbidden to answer the petitions of their Polish parishioners in any language except Russian.

In 1863, the State confiscated the property of the Church, but pledged itself to devote the revenue from it to the maintenance of the Catholic Clergy. In reality only a small part of the revenue reached its destination. The Catholic priests receive absurdly inadequate salaries: the parish priests, from 200 to 400 roubles a year, and certain bishops less than 1,000 roubles. The seminaries are not subsidized.

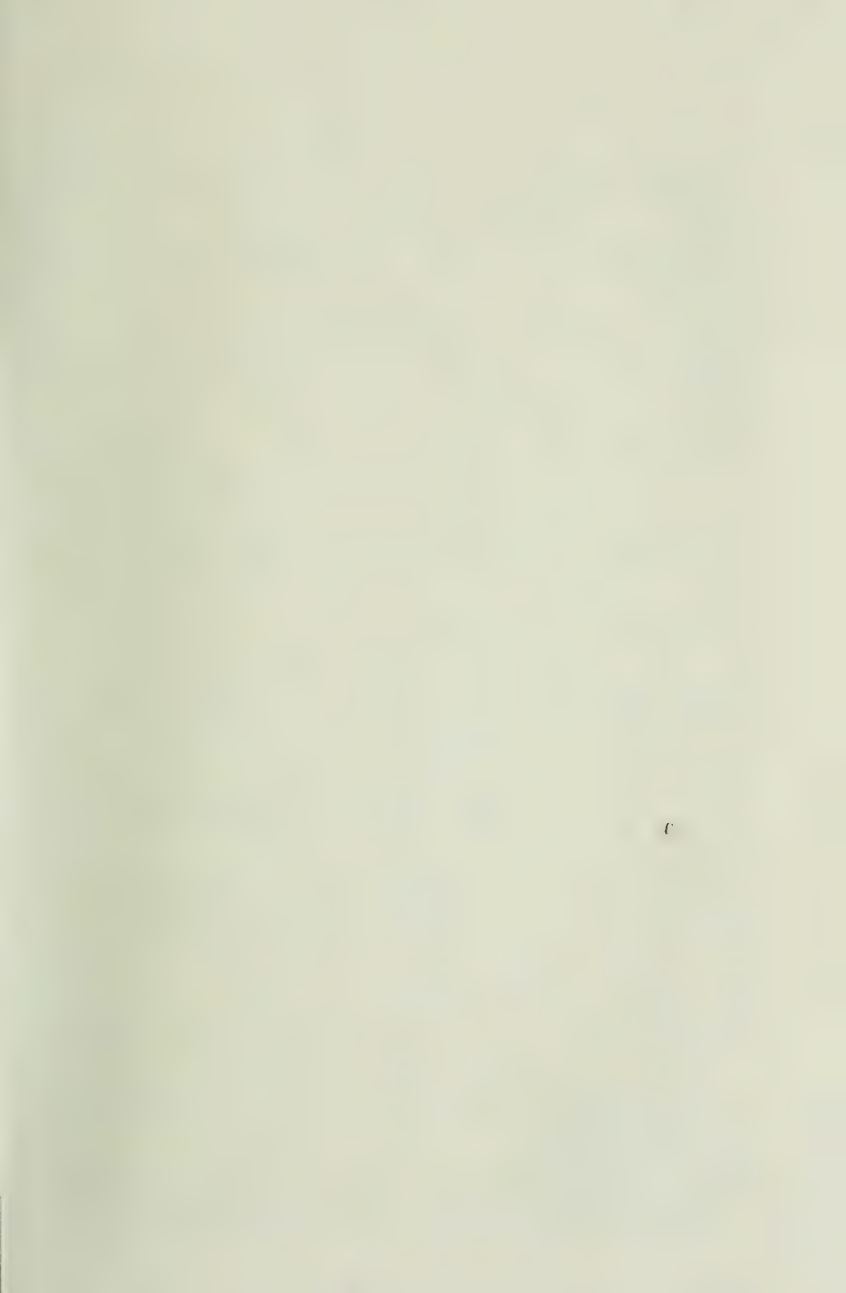
The Act of Tolerance of 1905 has been weakened by the administrative interpretations to which it has been subjected. All Catholic propaganda is obstructed and penalised. Owing to every kind of obstacle being put in the way, it is extremely difficult to leave the Orthodox Church. The innumerable members of the Uniat Church who returned to Catholicism after the promulgation of the Act of Tolerance, but before the elaboration of the bureaucratic formalities to which changes of religious

registration are now subjected, are still officially regarded as Orthodox. Their children have to be brought up in that denomination; and Catholic priests who administer the sacraments to them are severely punished. Children of a mixed marriage, where one of the parents is Orthodox, are obliged to be Orthodox, at least up to the age of 14, even though the Orthodox parent should in the meantime change his or her religion.

The Orthodox Church, being considered the dominant Church, enjoys special privileges throughout the Empire. In the Kingdom of Poland it possesses the Archbishopric of Warsaw, the Bishopric of Chelm, and the Suffragan-Bishopric of Lublin, all under the Holy Synod at Petrograd. The two Protestant denominations in the Kingdom—Lutheran and Calvinist—have their Consistories and their Superintendents. They are under the Minister of the Interior.

The Israelites have, since 1827, formed religious organisations, whose members elect a governing body to administer communal affairs (poor relief, hospitals, cemeteries, maintenance of schools). This body is under the control of the Government. Religious affairs are managed by Rabbis, who since 1867 have to be approved by the government, which also has the right to dismiss them. The numerous ritual schools (Kheders) are independent of the religious organisations; they may be founded by private individuals who obtain the authorisation of the Government, but no instruction is permitted in them except in the Sacred Scriptures and the Talmud. Hebrew and Yiddish are alone allowed in these schools: Polish is absolutely prohibited.

Associations: The Press. The Russian Law concerning Associations and Public Meetings was promulgated, on "provisory" terms, in the month of March, 1906. In principle it is fairly liberal: it permits the formation of certain associations by means of simple registration. It contains, however, a mass of restrictions which permit the administrative authorities to refuse registration, to limit the activity of associations, and even to dissolve them on puerile pretexts. In Russian Poland the intervention of the authorities in matters concerning associations, is naturally much more rigorous than in Russia, properly so called.





LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA.

+-+-+- Boundaries of the "Western Provinces" of the Russian Empire.

... Boundaries of the governments.

⊙ Government capitals.

○ Other towns of importance.

The figures indicate, in thousands, the Polish population of the district on Jan. 1st, 1911.

Thus, since 1908, no political association, even the most moderate, is allowed to exist; non-political associations are not authorised to found branches, and so on. In the law concerning associations, the prescriptions which were in force before the Constitutional régime have been maintained: they require the minutes and the accounts of all Societies in the Kingdom to be drawn up in two languages.

Legislation in regard to the Press is the same in the Kingdom as in Russia. The Preventive Censorship was abolished in 1908, but the Press Bureau still has very extensive powers, and can forbid the introduction of books from abroad, stop the sale of local publications, etc. Furthermore, the "State of Exception" which has been continuously maintained in the Kingdom, not only gives the authorities almost absolute power over associations, but makes it possible to inflict on all periodical publications arbitrary fines which may even reach the sum of 3,000 roubles.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

Lithuania, White Ruthenia, and that part of Ruthenia which is called in official terminology the "Country of the South-West," were annexed by Russia in the course of the three partitions of Poland (1772-1795). In 1807 the region of Bialystok was detached from Prussian Poland and joined to the government of Grodno in Lithuania. Up to 1831 the Russian Government recognised and never disputed the Polish character of these countries, where all the educated classes were at that time of Polish nationality. Schools and Courts of Justice were Polish, as well as the greater part of the Administration. After 1831, and especially after 1864, the Russian political system in Lithuania and in Ruthenia assumed a particularly rigorous form. All official and public institutions were completely Russified, no consideration being shown, either for the ancient Polish civilisation which had predominated in these provinces for centuries, or for the Lithuanians, White Ruthenes and Ruthenes, who form the majority of the autochthonous population. This system of denationalisation has lasted until the present day; for certain liberal modifica-

tions made by the constitutional reforms of 1905—1906 were soon either limited or abolished.

The law regarding elections to the Imperial Duma did not at first make any restrictions disadvantageous to non-Russian electors, and was favourable to the rural population. The Electoral Statute of 1907, promulgated by an Imperial Ukase, strengthened the representation of the great landed proprietors, and of the Orthodox Clergy. But as the Polish landed proprietors in Lithuania and Ruthenia are much more numerous than the Russian, laws of exception were passed to the disadvantage of the Poles, and Nationality Curias were instituted. In theory, the number of electors assigned to each Curia was in proportion to the amount of land possessed by the members of the respective nationalities, but the right of determining the area in question was entrusted to the Governors. In order to obtain an artificial Russian majority, the law was arbitrarily interpreted.

The Russians in the "governments" of Wilno and Kowno, although they formed only 4.5 per cent. of the population of these governments, obtained the privilege of nominating two Deputies. Instead of the seventeen Polish Deputies sent to the First Duma by Lithuania, Ruthenia, and White Ruthenia, only six were sent to the Third and Fourth Dumas, all of whom were elected in Lithuania.

The result of similar manipulations of the Nationality Curias has been that the Poles, who form a large majority of the great landed proprietors—the class principally represented in the Council of Empire,—have in that Chamber only three members for all the nine governments.

Local Autonomy. Until a few years ago none of the nine Lithuano-Ruthenian governments enjoyed the territorial or municipal autonomy which the central governments of Russia have possessed since 1864. In 1911, when the Stolypin Ministry introduced autonomous institutions into the White Ruthenian and Ruthenian governments in place of the nominated Zemstvos which had existed for some years, only an insignificant number of votes were granted to the Polish Curia. By special regulations, Poles were kept out of every administrative position, and an absolute majority was officially secured for the Russian proprietors, in spite

of their being few in number and for the most part absentees. Unable, in spite of all these expedients, to give preponderance to the Russian element in Wilno, Kowno, and Grodno, the authorities abstained from introducing the smallest territorial autonomy into these three governments.

The Law of Autonomy of 1864, altered in 1890 on reactionary lines, entrusts local institutions with the maintenance and construction of roads (excepting State roads), with sanitation, poor relief, the improvement of agriculture, etc. These local institutions are expected to provide subsidies for public education, although they are given no control over education or over the way in which the State administers the funds. Subsidies have also to be provided for the feeding of the population in case of famine, etc. The territorial autonomous body, the Zemstvo, is in the hands of the nobility, which has an officially assured majority. Only about one-third of the seats are given to the peasantry; a few are given to the towns; others are granted to the Orthodox Clergy by nomination. The number of electors is in proportion to the population of the districts and governments. This electoral body elects the District Zemstvo, which nominates its executive organ (Uprava), composed of a president and two to four salaried members. The Marshal of the Nobility of the District is *ipso facto* president of the District Zemstvo.

The District Zemstvos choose their representatives for the Government Zemstvos, over which the Government Marshal of Nobility presides. The Government Zemstvo also possesses an elected executive Committee (Uprava).

The Rural and Urban Communes (Boroughs), in contradistinction to the Communes of the Kingdom which embrace all classes, are a narrow organisation of one single class—the peasants or lower middle class—and do not form part of the district autonomy. These bodies deal with the incidence and collection of taxes and dues, with local administration, fire insurance, roads, local police regulations in regard to the peasants, and with elections to the communal tribunal.

The administrative council of the Commune, the Communal Assembly, is composed of one-tenth of the peasants of the Commune. At its head is the Mayor

(Starchina). The Commune is composed of villages with local councils presided over by an Elder; police administration is an important part of their work. The Boroughs have a communal organisation; towns of a certain importance have a relatively wide autonomy with a Municipal Council presided over by a Mayor, and elected solely by the landed proprietors. Their executive organ is the Municipal Commission composed of five members and a president. In addition to the management of local affairs, to the levying of certain taxes for this object, to the performance of certain functions in the name of the State, the towns pay the expenses of the police, which is completely independent of the municipal administration. The number of Israelites on the Municipal Councils is limited to a certain proportion; moreover, the few Jewish representatives are not elected, but nominated by the administration.

All elections to autonomous administrative posts, without exception, have to be confirmed by the government administration. This administration may oppose the putting into operation of the decisions of autonomous institutions which, in such a case, may appeal to the Ministry of the Interior.

The Russian Nobility possesses its own proper autonomy of class. In its Assemblies of the Nobility, it elects on a property basis (starting from 15,000 roubles) the Marshals of the District and of the Government, who are in virtue of their office the presidents of the Zemstvos, of the Commissions for taxation and recruiting, of the special Courts summoned to try political crimes, etc.

In Lithuania and Ruthenia, on account of the predominance of the Polish nobility, the nobility has been deprived of its autonomy of class. The authorities nominate the Marshals of the Districts and of the Governments, and choose them from Russian nobles who in the majority of cases are complete strangers to the country.

In consequence of these restrictions few Poles are to be found on autonomous bodies. They constitute, however, the intellectual élite of the country, and in spite of the limited number of functions entrusted to them, play an active and useful part in local autonomy.

Administration. Lithuania, White Ruthenia, and

Ruthenia, officially designated the "Countries of the North-West and South-West," are divided into nine governments: Wilno, Kowno, Grodno, Minsk, Mohylow, Witebsk, Kiev, Wolhynia, Podolia. These governments are composed of 91 districts. Their administration does not differ in any way from that of the Empire. (Cf. the passage dealing with the administration of the Kingdom.)

The Poles are absolutely excluded from all State posts or functions, and are even almost completely barred from railway offices and works. Russians married to Polish women are often subjected to the same disadvantage.

Administration of Justice. The organisation of the judiciary in the Lithuano-Ruthenian governments differs in several points from that of the Kingdom of Poland.

In the Kingdom the Communal tribunals serve all classes, but a double jurisdiction exists in the country districts of the Lithuano-Ruthenian governments. Unimportant lawsuits between peasants are brought before the elective communal tribunals. Those which arise between persons belonging to other classes, or even between such persons and peasants, are judged in first instance by the Territorial Chief (Ziemskej Natschalnik), an administrative functionary appointed specially to control the actions of the communes.

Appeals from the sentences of the communal tribunals, or from the Territorial Chief, are heard by the Assembly of these Chiefs and the Honorary Justices of the Peace (in Russia elected by the Zemstvos, in Lithuania and Ruthenia nominated by the Government). Appeals from the decisions of the Assembly are heard by the Senate. The maintenance of the antiquated organisation of the communal jurisdictions has been recognised as impossible; nevertheless, a project of reform submitted to the legislative bodies met with opposition from the Council of Empire, and was not voted on. In Lithuania, White Ruthenia, and Ruthenia, the Jury system, which has not been admitted into the Kingdom, exists in connection with the circuit tribunals.

It is needless to add that among the judges and notaries, no Pole is to be found, and that no language other than Russian is allowed in the courts of law.

Public Education. In regard to education, the nine governments of Lithuania and Ruthenia are divided into two

circumscriptions : those of Wilno and Kiev. The language of instruction in all the schools is exclusively Russian : even private Polish schools are forbidden.

Although the law of 1906 abolished the penalties of a 300-rouble fine or three months' imprisonment for opening a school, or teaching Polish in secret at home, the Local Administration, making use of the "state of exception," inflicts these penalties without judicial trial. Permission to teach Polish in the schools in those localities where Polish pupils are in a majority, has been fruitless, for the same law allows the authorities to decide the nationality of the children. The private teaching or propagation of Polish is still punished as a political offence. Since the suppression at Wilno of the Polish University in 1832 and of the Academy of Medicine there in 1842, Lithuania and White Ruthenia no longer possess any seat of higher education.

Religious Denominations The nine Lithuano-Ruthenian governments form four Catholic dioceses : Kowno, Wilno, Luck-Zytomir, and the Metropolitan Archbishopric of Mohylow with seat at Petrograd. The Catholics scattered through the Russian Empire are attached either to the Archbishopric of Mohylow or to the diocese of Stavropol-Saratow, which is subject to it. In these dioceses there are 1,481 churches and 2,147 priests.³ The restrictions applied in the Kingdom are also operative in the Lithuano-Ruthenian provinces. There exist, besides, restrictions of a special nature.

In 1867 the government forbade the restoration of Catholic churches without explicit authorisation. Thus, in several cases these edifices had to be abandoned. When, after the Act of Tolerance of 1905, the Catholic clergy wished to take them back, the government refused, and gave them to the Orthodox clergy.

Since 1864, to employ Polish in religious teaching in Lithuania or Ruthenia has been absolutely forbidden. The administration, taking advantage of the clause in the law in virtue of which head masters and inspectors of schools specify the nationality of the pupils, has practically

³ For the organisation and legal situation of the Catholic Church in the whole Empire, see page 78.

abolished the law of 1905 which permits religious instruction in Polish; and the majority of Polish children are thus forced to learn their catechism in Russian. Every priest who gives lessons in the catechism at his own home in the presbytery is liable to the penalties incurred for "clandestine teaching."

Catholicism, persecuted throughout the Empire, is more particularly persecuted in the nine governments above mentioned, on account of its great political importance. It is enough to say that in Ruthenia, and in White Ruthenia, Nationality and Religion are confounded to such an extent that in the current language of the country "Catholic" and "Pole" are synonymous terms.

Associations. The Poles in the nine Lithuano-Ruthenian governments have not failed to take considerable advantage of the law of 1906 regarding associations. But in 1909, in consequence of a declaration by the Senate, that the existence of Polish associations in the "Countries of the West" was incompatible with "the public interest," all the artistic, scientific and literary societies, and almost all the associations for gymnastics and sport, were dissolved. Only a few Catholic charitable associations have continued to exist. The use of the Russian language has been made obligatory in the deliberations of all "registered" societies.

In virtue of special orders, issued after 1864, and confirmed in 1893, speaking Polish was forbidden in Lithuania (even in private conversation) in the street or public places. In 1905 the restrictions on the private employment of the language of the country were removed; but the Governor-Generals and the Governors immediately set about interpreting this authorisation in their own way, and reduced it considerably. Thus, for example, public lectures in Polish, even those of a scientific or literary nature, are not authorised.

Laws of Exception. The laws of 1865 and subsequent laws forbidding the Poles throughout the extent of the nine governments of "the West" to acquire landed property in any other way than by succession *ab intestato*; or to take properties on lease for more than twelve years; or even to lend on mortgage, were partly modified in 1905: the restrictions in regard to leases and mortgages were removed,

and the Poles were permitted to buy lands, though only those of other Polish proprietors.

The Bank of the Nobility, intended to help this class of rural proprietors, does not issue loans to Poles; on the other hand, it accords special facilities to Russians who buy Polish lands. Poles are not allowed to be tenants of land bought by Russians through the aid of this bank, or of land belonging to the State.

The Government Peasants Bank distributes the lands bought from the Poles among non-Polish Orthodox peasants, and often, to the disadvantage of the local population, among colonists brought from the interior of Russia. These two banks, "The Bank of the Nobility" and "The Peasants Bank," have the same object as the famous Prussian Colonisation Commission. Thanks to agrarian laws of exception, and to financial support from the State, Russian landed property, which did not, so to speak, exist before 1865, has to-day considerably increased.

II. AUSTRIAN POLAND

Galicia is composed of several palatinates of the former Republic of Poland, which, annexed in 1772 and 1795, were, after various territorial modifications, finally attached to Austria by the Treaties of Vienna of 1815 and 1846.⁴

The Acts of 1860, 1861, and 1867, affecting the Constitution of Galicia, secured the population of Galicia national and political rights, as well as provincial self-government somewhat restricted indeed, but based on the fundamental laws of the State. Neither the provincial Statute of Galicia, nor the geographical limits of the province, can be changed except by the decision of the Diet of the country.

In Galicia three languages are recognised by law (*Landesübliche Sprache*): Polish, Ruthenian and German. Polish is the official language (*Landes-sprache*) for the whole province (Decree of June 5th, 1869). Ruthenian is admitted on a footing of equality in the Diet, in the law-courts, in the administration and in the autonomous bodies of the eastern

⁴The Treaty of 1846 deals with the annexation of the Republic of Cracow.



GALICIA.

+ - + - Boundaries of Galicia and Silesia.

⊙ Capitals.

○ Other towns of importance.

The figures indicate, in thousands, the Polish population of the district or region on Jan. 1st, 1918.

The place-names are given in Polish.

part of Galicia; it is the medium of instruction in the numerous Ruthenian schools. In all dealings with the central authorities and in the administration of the State railways, German is obligatory.

Galicia, the population of which forms 28 per cent. of that of Austria, sends 106 members, of whom 28 are Ruthenes, to the Chamber of Deputies at Vienna, which is composed of 516 members, elected by universal suffrage since the reform of 1907.⁵ The great majority of the Polish deputies form a solid Parliamentary Party, known as the Polish Club. In the House of Lords, Galicia is represented by five hereditary members (out of 65), four members in virtue of their office (the three Archbishops and the Prince Bishop of Cracow) and nearly twenty life-members nominated by the Emperor, of whom some are Ruthenes. In the Delegation, a parliamentary Commission for affairs common to Austria and Hungary, seven of the forty representatives of the Austrian Chamber of Deputies, with two supplementary members, are elected by the Polish Parliamentary Club. One delegate and one supplementary member are by custom Ruthenes. Furthermore, out of the twenty members of the Delegation nominated by the House of Lords, three or four are Poles.

A Minister for Galicia (without portfolio), who is always a Pole, has a place in the Council of Ministers, which usually includes at least one other member of Polish nationality. The central administration at Vienna employs six to eight per cent. of Poles among its officials.

Autonomy in Galicia. The Constitutional Act of October 20th, 1860 (modified in a centralising direction on February 26th, 1861) is the basis of the Provincial Statute of Galicia. The somewhat narrow legislative powers of the Diet, which are subject to the sanction of the Sovereign alone, include the provincial budget and communal questions relating to education, agriculture, forestry, sanitation, communications, poor relief, etc. In regard to finance the Diet votes certain taxes and "additional centimes," supplementary to the State taxes. Finance is the weak part of Galician autonomy, for the State has taken possession of the principal sources of

⁵ In Galicia (1907) one Deputy represents 60,000 inhabitants, whilst in the German provinces of Austria the proportion is one for every 27,000.

revenue, after appropriating the ancient domains of the Crown of Poland, among them the famous salt-mines of Wieliczka. (See **Finance**.)

In consequence of a compromise between the Poles and the Ruthenes, the electoral reform of February, 1914, has increased the number of Deputies to the Diet from 165 to 228. Thirteen members, Bishops and Rectors of Universities, sit *ex officio*. Of these, 62 are now Ruthenes instead of 22 as formerly. The Curial system in use is based on income and property representation.

The electors are divided into six Curias: 1. Great Estates; 2. Urban rent-payers; 3. Universal urban suffrage; 4. Chambers of Commerce and Industry; 5. Industrial Associations; 6. Rural Communes. This new mode of election is secret and direct, and so more liberal than that of any other province in Austria: in certain respects it is even wider than the universal suffrage adopted for the Chamber of Deputies at Vienna. In certain Curias it grants the Suffrage to women. Elections to the Diet, as well as to all other autonomous bodies, take place every six years. Polish and Ruthenian are on a footing of equality in the Diet debates, which are presided over by the Marshal of the Province, or by his deputies, of whom one is a Pole, the other a Ruthene. In the Commissions of the Diet, 27.2 per cent. of the seats are reserved for the Ruthenes.

The Diet chooses from its own members the Provincial Committee which is composed of eight members of whom two are Ruthenes. It is presided over by the Marshal of the Province. The Provincial Committee is the executive and administrative organ of the Diet.

The autonomy of the Districts (82) and that of the Communes (6,247) is subject to the control of the Provincial Committee and of the State. Questions of education, of social and economic order, within the limits of the districts and the communes, come under the control of their respective autonomies. District autonomy dates from 1866; its organs are the Council of the District and the Executive Committee (President, Vice-President and five members). Communal autonomy is represented by the Communal Council, with the Mayor and his assistants, and by the great landed proprietors, who are independent of the

Commune, but take part in the maintenance of the roads and communal schools. The Mayors of the rural communes fulfil at the same time certain functions which they hold from the State.

The Towns and Boroughs form part of the autonomy of the District, and for the exercise of their own internal self-government form Municipal Councils and Commissions. The rights of the electors are established on a property basis, or according to the degree of education. The towns of Cracow and of Lwów (Leopolis) form autonomous units, independent of the Districts.

The organisation of self-government in Galicia has palpable shortcomings. One of its essential defects is the way in which power is divided between the organs of the State and these of the Province, the organs of the Province being obliged to have recourse to the intervention of the State authorities in order to put the decisions of the autonomous bodies into execution. This dependence constitutes a serious obstacle to the normal development of the country.

Administration. The head of the administration in Galicia is the Lieutenant-General, who represents the Crown and Central Government. He deals with internal affairs, public education, questions of religion, national defence, agriculture, police, etc., but is not responsible to the Diet of the country. He is the President of the Educational Council of the Province, of the Department of Finance, of the Commission for regulation of rivers, of the Rural Commission, etc. From 1849 to 1914 the Lieutenant-Generals have always been of Polish nationality.

The Starostwos (Sub-Prefectures) of the 82 Districts of Galicia, which are managed by "Starosts" (Sub-Prefects), are an inferior branch of the central administration. They are concerned with the maintenance of public order, police, control of the district and communal autonomy, etc.

The Municipalities of Cracow and Lwów (Leopolis) have an administrative power analogous to that of the Starostwos. Their police departments are under the direct control of the Lieutenant-General.

The corps of gendarmes is also under the control of the

Lieutenant-General and the military authorities. Its official language is German.

The State has exclusive control of financial administration. The collection of taxes, whether Imperial or Provincial, public accounts, banking, all come under the Provincial Department of Finance (not autonomous), which has 17 district departments. The protection of the interests of the Treasury is entrusted to a special Procurator.

Galicia possesses three Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The other non-autonomous branches of the Administration of Galicia are: the Department of State Railways, the Post and Telegraph Department, and the Department of Crown estates, mines, etc.

Administration of Justice. Civil and penal legislation is exclusively in the hands of the State. District Tribunals (190) and circuit tribunals (17) form the Court of first instance. The court of second instance is formed by the Courts of Appeal at Cracow and Leopold. The supreme Court at Vienna, which is also a court of appeal, decides in the last resort. The Chambers of the Supreme Court which deal with affairs specially relating to Galicia, are generally composed of Polish and Ruthenian judges. This is also the case in the corresponding sections of the State Tribunal (Council of State) and of the Tribunal of Administration. The State Tribunal decides in last resort law-suits between the authorities of the State and those of the Provincial autonomous bodies.

Public Education. One of the most important instruments of national progress in Galicia is the Provincial Educational Council under the honorary presidency of the Lieutenant-General. This council, which is immediately under the Ministry of Public Education at Vienna, is not indeed an autonomous institution, but it is composed of Poles (12) and Ruthenes (4), and actually, if not by law, is responsible to the Diet. It is practically under the control of its Vice-President, and constitutes the chief executive authority for primary and secondary education in Galicia. Its powers extend over the administration of the schools, their budget, their curricula, the selection of educational books, etc. In virtue of the law of 1907, the Galician Educational Council possesses wider prerogatives

than any similar institution in the other provinces of the Empire. It has under its direction 84 District Educational Councils, under which come, in their turn, the Local Councils. Cracow and Lwów (Leopolis) have each an Educational Council of their own.

The choice of the language employed in the national schools depends on the decision of the Communes, or on that of the founder of the school. The founder decides the language of instruction in secondary private schools. The Diet enjoys the same right in the case of the recently created secondary State schools. The Higher Schools in Galicia are Polish. The Ruthenian University, the foundation of which has been decided on, is to obtain its staff from the present holders of Ruthenian chairs in the Polish University of Lwów (Leopolis).

The Higher Schools enjoy internal autonomy and are directly under the University of Vienna. Higher Secondary Education is paid for by the State; primary and technical by the Province, the Communes, and the great landed proprietors.

Religious Denominations. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy accords liberty and protection to all denominations, while reserving a somewhat privileged position for the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Bishops are free to communicate with Rome directly and without control; their nomination depends on the Emperor and the Holy See. The Clergy receive salaries from the State, which in the time of Joseph II confiscated, among other things, the monastic property of Galicia.

The Catholic Church possesses in Galicia an Archbishopric at Lwów (Leopolis) and three Bishoprics (Cracow, Tarnow, Przemyśl): 1,119 churches and 2,350 priests (1909). The Greek-Catholic (the Uniat) Church has also an Archbishopric at Lwów (Leopolis), two Bishoprics (Przemyśl, Stanisławów) and 3,318 churches, with 2,443 priests for the Uniat population, which is considerably less numerous than the Roman Catholic. Leopolis is also the seat of an Armenian Uniat Archbishopric.

The Protestants in Galicia are under a Superintendent. The Israelites have their own religious organisation. The members of the Orthodox (Russian) Church do not number 1.25 per cent. of the total population of the country.

Austrian Silesia is composed of the Duchy of Cieszyn (Teschen) with four administrative districts; and of a fraction of Moravia. The former territory was detached from Poland in the 14th century, but is still for the most part inhabited by Poles. The latter was reunited to the Duchy in the 18th century, and the two together form an artificial administrative unit.

Austrian Silesia (Cieszyn) sends three Polish Deputies to Parliament (Elections of 1911). Silesia possesses an autonomy similar to that of Galicia, but with more restricted powers. The Curial electoral system gives such a preponderance to the Germans that in 1909, for example, they held 80 per cent. of the seats in the Diet, although their population does not exceed 44 per cent.; the Poles, 31 per cent., had only three Deputies out of the 30 elected by the Province. Generally speaking, there is one deputy for every 12,357 Germans, one for 48,755 Czechs, one for 73,490 Poles. On the Provincial Committee the Poles have no representative. Polish is one of the three languages of the country (German, Polish, Czech), but its use in the administration and the tribunals is, owing to German pressure, much restricted.

By far the greater number of the posts in the administration and offices in the magistracy are occupied by Germans. A few are held by Czechs, but Poles are always excluded. Thus, for example, in the Duchy of Cieszyn, where the Polish population numbers 54.2 per cent., there are not 10 per cent. of Poles in the judicial service. In spite of all the laws and ordinances which guarantee equal treatment of nationalities in all that concerns primary education, numbers of Polish children are forced to attend German or Czech schools. In addition there is the German Schulverein, which founds German schools even in purely Polish regions.

The subventions and grants allotted by the Diet of the Province to German public education and German associations (the Germans numbering 44 per cent. of the population) amounted in 1903 to 498,854 crowns, whereas the sum allotted for similar institutions to the Polish population (31 per cent. of the inhabitants) reached only 10,000 crowns.



PRUSSIAN POLAND.

+-+-+- Boundaries of the provinces of Prussian Poland.

... Boundaries of the regencies.

⊙ Capitals of regencies.

⊙ Other towns of importance.

The figures indicate, in thousands, the Polish population of the district on Jan. 1st, 1911.

The place-names are given in Polish.

The majority of the population of Silesia is Roman Catholic. The Regency of Opawa is under the Bishopric of Ollmütz; the Regency of Cieszyn under the Bishopric of Wroclaw (Breslau) in Prussia, the titular bishop of which resides outside Austria. These dioceses possess 163 churches with 250 priests.

The German majority in the Diet aims also at subjecting Polish Silesia (Cieszyn) economically to the German Regency of Opawa (Troppau). With this object in view, the interests of the Duchy of Cieszyn are systematically and definitely neglected in the budget of the province, and even in that of the State. For example, the grants accorded by the Diet for the benefit of the Germans were 300,000 crowns in 1909; for the benefit of the Poles, 4,200 crowns. For the regulation of the rivers and streams of German Silesia a sum of 1,309,873 crowns was assigned; for the same object in Cieszyn, although it is more populous than Opawa, only 111,175 crowns were granted. Special pressure is exercised by the enormous German entailed estates, which tend to Germanise the province (the domains of the Archduke Frederick, Count Larisch, etc.).

German social institutions with the "Nordmark" at their head work in the same direction as the "Schulverein" already mentioned. The Nordmark association has as its aim the establishment of German supremacy, especially in the economic domain.

Spisz (Zips) belonged to Poland from 1412 to 1769. Occupied by Austria in 1769, it was assigned to her at the time of the first partition (1772). It is divided at present among three "Comitals" (Provinces) of Hungary. The Polish population does not possess any national rights, and Polish is not admitted either in the schools or official institutions.

PRUSSIAN POLAND

The autochthonous Polish population of the Kingdom of Prussia is divided among four provinces: the Grand Duchy of Poznan, West Prussia, East Prussia (chiefly in the Regency of Olsztyn (Allenstein), and Silesia (chiefly in the Regency of Opole (Oppeln). The Treaty of Vienna (1815) affirmed the right of the Poles of Prussia to representation

and to national institutions; but these were accorded by the King of Prussia only to the Grand Duchy of Poznan. Even this Duchy, however, in defiance of the above-mentioned treaty, and in spite of the energetic protests of the Poles, because a Prussian Province in 1850, and was attached in 1867 to the North-German Confederation. Completely deprived of all national rights, the Poles of these countries are subjected to a policy of extermination, which is manifested in every sphere accessible to the interference of the State. The provinces with a Polish population are subject not only to the Imperial Legislature (Reichstag and Bundesrat) concerned with legislation for the whole Empire, which have sometimes shown themselves favourable to the Poles, but also to the Prussian Crown and Diet, composed of a Chamber of Deputies (Landtag) and a House of Lords. The Chamber of Deputies is composed of 443 members, elected on an indirect property basis, with oral vote. Electoral districts are established in such a way as to diminish the importance of the Polish vote. The House of Lords, closely in touch with the Government, is particularly hostile to the Poles. The Chamber of Deputies has an anti-Polish majority of two-thirds. The Polish Club of the Landtag has twelve representatives in the Chamber of Deputies and eight in the House of Lords. The Polish Club of the Reichstag consists of 17 Deputies. The two Clubs, whose solidarity is absolute, have adopted a policy of resolute opposition.

Local Autonomy. The Kingdom of Prussia is endowed with a system of local self-government of three degrees: the commune, the district, and the province. The towns, according to their importance, either form part of the district autonomy, or are distinct autonomous bodies. All this autonomous activity is of a purely administrative character; it is under the strict control and influence of the Central Government, and the Polish language is rigorously excluded.

Each Province possesses a Diet, the members of which are elected for six years by the Dietines of the Districts. The Grand Duchy of Poznan is also subjected in this connection to a régime of exception which is disadvantageous to the Poles. The Diet is composed of representatives of the three

estates : Landed-Proprietors, Middle Class, and Peasantry. In consequence of this division, the Poles, who form according to the official statistics themselves more than 61 per cent. of the population of the Province, have only eight Deputies out of a total of 48.

The Diet draws up a Provincial Budget; it decides questions relating to the initiation of public works, the construction of local railways, the protection of agriculture, etc. Its executive organ is the Provincial Committee (a President, 7 to 16 members, and a Director, Landeshauptmann), nominated by the Diet and confirmed by the King. The Provincial Committee of Poznania only includes two Poles among 9 members.

The Districts have Dietines, the powers of which, within the limits of the Districts, are similar to those of the Diets within the limits of the Provinces. The Dietines in Poznania are composed of the majority of the great landed proprietors (Rittergutsbesitzer), of the burgomasters of the towns, and of a limited number of representatives of the rural communes. The executive power belongs to the Committee of the District, composed of members confirmed by the Government, and presided over by the Landrath, a State official.

The rural and urban Commune, with its mayor and his assistants, who must be approved by the Landrath, is the lowest branch of local autonomy. Polish mayors and their assistants experience great difficulty in obtaining confirmation of their appointments. The Communes are responsible for the good condition of certain roads; they administer poor relief, and maintain, in common with other communes, the primary schools.

The Towns possess more extensive rights. Several of them form distinct districts and have their own administration. Elections take place on a property basis of three classes by oral vote. All who do not pay a certain minimum in rates and taxes are excluded. This arrangement is very unfavourable to the Polish population, for the German immigrants into the towns belong chiefly to the well-to-do classes. Thus at Poznan (Posen), with a population nearly two-thirds Polish, the Poles hold only ten out of sixty seats on the Municipal Council. The Municipal Council elects

the Burgomaster, who, as chief of the municipality, directs the affairs of the town; his nomination must be approved by the authorities. The Burgomasters and the members of the Municipalities are almost exclusively Germans.

Administration. The most characteristic feature of the administration of the State and of the autonomous organs in the provinces of Prussia is their mutual interdependence. They have the same men at the head in all minor offices, and to a large extent also in the more important offices, a fact which still further increases the dependence of the self-governing bodies in regard to the State. Moreover, in all that concerns the Grand Duchy of Poznan the utmost is done to paralyse the influence of the Polish element by measures of exception. Thus, in the administration, the Polish language, though treated at first with a certain equity, has been gradually eliminated. In 1876, Bismarck got a law passed in virtue of which German alone was recognised as the official language throughout the Empire. The Poles in their native country are not admitted to posts in the administration. If there are certain rare exceptions these are insignificant and affect only some modest functions very low down in the administrative hierarchy. On the other hand, such employés in the Polish provinces as show a zeal for Germanisation receive a special remuneration from the State (Ostmarkenzulage).

For administrative purposes, each province is divided into Regencies.

Poznania : Regencies of Poznan (Posen) and of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg).

West Prussia : Gdansk (Dantzig) and Kwidzyn (Marienwerder).

East Prussia : Krolewiec (Königsberg), Olsztyn (Allenstein), and Gombin (Gumbinnen).

Silesia : Wroclaw (Breslau), Opole (Oppeln) and Lignica (Lignitz).

The Regency (Regierungsbezirk) is divided into Districts (Kreise), rural and urban (an urban district must number at least 25,000 people); these are sub-divided into Cantonal Circles (Amtsbezirke); then into urban and rural Communes (Stadt and Landesgemeinde). In Poznania, again in order to create obstacles to Polish influence, Commissariats of Police

(Districtcommissariat) were set up in 1833 in place of the Cantonal Circles.

At the head of the Province is the President in Chief (Oberpräsident) nominated by the Sovereign. He represents the central government, and his administrative powers are very extensive, especially in the Polish districts, where considerable secret funds are placed at his disposal. He presides over the Provincial Educational Council, nominates the members of the Committee, and his activity has a specially political character. He is assisted by the Administrative Council of the Province (Provinzialrath). Of all the provinces with a Polish population Poznan alone has two Polish members in its "Provinzialrath." This minority, needless to say, is powerless.

The administrative functions of the Regency embrace religion and elementary public education, direct taxation, control of local autonomy, etc. Its employés are nominated by the Crown. The President of the Regency is supreme in these matters. He can act on his own initiative in all that concerns police, building, poor relief, etc.

The Committee of the Regency (Bezirkausschuss) is composed of functionaries and citizens chosen by the Government from among candidates nominated by the self-governing bodies. On each of the two Committees of the Regency of the Grand Duchy of Poznan there is one Polish member and one Polish assistant-member. The police regulations made by the Presidents of the Regency are sanctioned by this Committee. The Chief of the District (Landrath) has the same powers (within the limits of his District) as the President within those of the Regency. The Landrath is also the executive authority of district self-government; he is nominated by the Crown and is directly under the President of the Regency. He presides over the Committee of the District which is composed of six members, nominated by the Dietine, and holds all the executive power of the District.

There is not a single Pole among the Landraths. Among the 240 members of the District Committees in Poznan there are only 61 Poles. In the other provinces there are hardly any.

The group of Communes forming a Canton (Amtsbezirk)

has a special official (Amtmann) at its head. The Mayor of the Rural Commune, with his assistants (from 1 to 6) is also chief of the local police. The great landed estates generally form distinct administrative units.

In the smaller towns, authority is vested in a Burgomaster (a State official) and in the Communal Municipality; in the larger towns which form urban districts, it is vested in the Burgomaster and the Municipality assisted by an Urban Committee. In certain big towns special Police Bureaux have been set up, with a President at the head.

Administration of Justice. Immediately after the Partitions the Prussian legal code and procedure were introduced into Prussian Poland. The organisation of justice is, in principle, uniform throughout the Empire. The court of first instance is constituted by the Cantonal Tribunal (Amtsgericht). The Territorial Tribunal (Landgericht) forms the court of second instance; this is the more important. Then come the Provincial High Tribunals (Oberlandsgericht). The court of highest instance for all cases is the Supreme Court of the Empire at Leipzig. For administrative questions, the Committee of the District constitutes the court of first instance; then comes the Committee of the Regency; lastly, the Court of final appeal is the High Administrative Tribunal (Oberverwaltungsgericht) at Berlin.

The Polish language was at first treated with a certain equity—at least in Poznań—but in a short time it was gradually eliminated from the tribunals. Since 1874—1876 the whole legal procedure—the hearing of the parties concerned and of witnesses, the defence, and the verdict—can be conducted only in German. The evidence of persons who do not speak German is heard through the medium of an interpreter. At the present time there are hardly any judges of Polish nationality; and there remain, throughout the extent of the territories annexed by Prussia, only some ten Polish notaries, nominated many years ago.

The profession of the Bar is free, but it is preceded by a special examination to which persons “undesirable” from the Government point of view are often not admitted.

Public Education. The highest Public Education Authority is the Ministry of Public Education and of

Religious Denominations, and in the case of technical and special professional schools, the corresponding Ministries at Berlin. Questions of Secondary education in the Provinces are centralised in the provincial School Boards under the presidency of the President Superior. High Schools and "real schools" (technical) for boys and girls are under these Boards. All primary schools are under the department of Public Education and Religious Denominations of the Regency. The institution of school inspectors serves as a link between school-masters and the Regency. Higher Schools enjoy autonomy and are attached to the corresponding Ministries at Berlin.

The expenses of Higher Education, and those of Secondary Education are borne in the main by the State. Primary Schools are maintained by local authorities, with assistance from the State, which withdraws its subsidies from such Communes as have incurred its displeasure. German is the sole medium of instruction throughout the educational system, the whole of which has been Germanised since the time of the "Kulturkampf," that is to say, since 1873. The Catechism is also taught in German after the first school year (pupils of six) and, in regions where the Polish population is very considerable, after the third, or even after the second school year. The systematic elimination of the vestiges of Polish instruction in religion, where they still survived, more than once provoked resistance on the part of the children. The corporal punishment inflicted in order to break this resistance was the cause of the notorious Process of Wreschen (1901). In 1906—1907 these punishments provoked a school strike in which more than 100,000 children took part.

Poles are absolutely forbidden to found any private schools. Any person who devotes himself to the private teaching of Polish outside his family is liable to very severe administrative and legal penalties. The teaching of Polish is prohibited in the institutions for the deaf and dumb, and in those for children abandoned by their parents, who by this means become Germanised. A limited number of Polish teachers still exist in primary schools, but they are obliged to propagate the German spirit and to speak German, even in their own family.

The Government founds theatres, museums, and public libraries from which the Polish language is rigorously excluded; they are intended to contribute to the Germanisation of the country.

Religious Denominations. The Provinces with a Polish population constitute five Catholic dioceses: the Archbishopric of Gniezno (Gnesen), which is united with that of Poznan (Posen); the Bishoprics of Khelmno (Kulm); that of Warmia; and that of Wroclaw (Breslau). There are 3,348 churches and 3,880 priests. The Archiepiscopal See of Gniezno-Poznan, the most ancient in Poland—illustrious from its history and from the title of Primate which is attached to it—has preserved its moral supremacy over the high dignitaries of the Polish Church. For many years it remained vacant, Rome refusing, in spite of the insistence of Prussia, to nominate a prelate of German nationality. A Pole occupies it at the present moment.

All the other Bishoprics are in the hands of Germans. At the time of the "Kulturkampf" (1873) which was directed especially against the Polish clergy, who were regarded as one of the most active elements in the national resistance,⁶ the relations of the State with the Catholic Church underwent essential changes. In spite of the liberty guaranteed by the constitution to religious denominations, the Government does not tolerate monasteries in Polish districts, and reserves the right to control strictly the financial management of ecclesiastical funds and property. Besides directly nominating the clergy to the parishes in State domains, the Government has appropriated the prerogative in all Polish parishes of confirming the nominations of candidates proposed by the ecclesiastical authorities. It thus exercises political pressure upon the Polish clergy. In the same way, the authorities do their utmost to appoint German priests to purely Polish parishes, and try continually to increase the number of religious services in the German language in parishes where nationality is more or less mixed. Polish priests are completely excluded from the teaching of religion in primary schools. In many a commune Polish children are obliged even to make their

⁶ Memoirs of Bismarck.

preparation for their first Communion in German. The German Catholic clergy are to a great extent an instrument of Germanisation in the hands of the Government.

The danger of Germanisation by ecclesiastical Chauvinists is still greater in the case of Polish Protestants, who have no special religious organisation. Their number amounts to 250,000.

Associations. Public Meetings. In 1908, when the law of the Empire relating to associations and public meetings was reformed, Chancellor von Bülow, with the support of the Conservatives, the Liberals, and the Progressives, introduced into the new legislation the famous Article 12. This permitted the use at public meetings of languages other than German, but only in districts and communes where not less than 60 per cent. of the population spoke a non-German language. This law was intended to operate until the year 1928. The German authorities as a rule regard as public meetings all scientific, technical and other lectures, even when they are not followed by discussion. The police and judicial authorities regard all Polish Societies as political, even societies for gymnastics and recreation, as well as literary gatherings and entertainments. Thus, the article of the law on political associations, in virtue of which it is forbidden to enrol young people not turned eighteen, is interpreted in such a fashion as to exclude the young people of Poland from access to any Polish association.

All employés are strictly forbidden to belong to Polish associations, even if they are only societies for music or sport. For offences of this kind students have been expelled from the higher schools where they had matriculated.

Systematically and inflexibly Polish is banished from all spheres of public life. Names of localities are changed by a simple ministerial decree, or even by order of the President of the Regency. The authorities, quite illegally, do their utmost to impose German spelling of Polish family and Christian names in the documents of civil administration. The inscription on street signs of the names of the streets in Polish is forbidden "for the preservation of public order" (sic). Finally in 1894, the Polish national

colours, white and red, on the arms of the Grand Duchy of Poznan, were changed for the Prussian white and black.

Laws of Exception. In the agrarian and economic domain especially there are numerous "laws of exception," which are contrary to the principles of the Constitution, and aimed exclusively against the Polish population.

To recall briefly the salient facts mentioned in the chapter on History.—In 1886 was founded, under the auspices of Bismarck, a Commission of Colonisation, which was intended to bring about the transference to German hands of Polish estates in the Grand Duchy of Poznan and in West Prussia. From 1886 to 1913 the Landtag placed one thousand and thirty million marks at the disposal of this Commission. The Poles, being tax payers, thus contribute to their own annihilation. In order to prevent the partitioning of the great estates among Polish peasants, a special law, called the Law of Settlement, was passed in 1904, in virtue of which it was forbidden to build upon a plot of land without previous authorisation, an authorisation which the Poles never obtain. As this measure did not prevent the peasants from buying lots adjacent to their property, the Government in 1914 submitted to the Landtag a Bill designed not only to make all land divisions depend on the decision of the authorities, but also to render it impossible for the Poles to acquire any landed property, either large or small. By the terms of this Bill only the next of kin had the right, without previous authorisation from the authorities, of handing over or selling among themselves the family property. In 1908 a law, which caused a world-wide sensation, had already authorised the Government to subject the lands belonging to Poles to compulsory expropriation. This law was enforced for the first time in 1912.

In the towns the Government favours the German population in economic matters. The authorities boycott Polish industry and commerce. Officials and soldiers are forbidden to make purchases in Polish shops. The Diet of Prussia every year puts several millions at the disposal of the Presidents of the Polish provinces. These funds afford material aid to those German manufacturers, mer-

chants, workmen, doctors, lawyers, and students who promise to take an active part in the Germanisation of the Eastern provinces of Prussia. Moreover, the authorities grant subventions to various German economic associations.

Mention should also be made of the Peasants' Bank at Gdansk and the German Loan Association (Mittelstandskasse) at Poznan, etc., which, like the Commission of Colonisation, help to Germanise the country.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

THE non-constitutional act of June 19, 1907, reduced the number of Deputies for the Kingdom of Poland in the Imperial Duma from 36 to 12. Later on, new modifications of the electoral statute diminished the Polish representation of Lithuania and Ruthenia.

The number of Poles in the Duma (for the Kingdom, Lithuania and Ruthenia combined) which was 46 in the first Duma, fell to 15 in the last, and in the Council of Empire declined from 15 to 9. The peculiar political conditions of their Parliamentary activity compelled the Poles to form four Clubs instead of one. The Poles of the Kingdom, and the Poles of Lithuania and Ruthenia, each possessed two Clubs; one for the Duma, the other for the Council of Empire. Nevertheless, these Clubs worked solidly together, followed the same political programme, and all important questions were deliberated on in common. The Club of the Members elected to the Council of Empire from the Kingdom was presided over by Count Z. Wielopolski; the other three Clubs were managed by Committees.

The Polish representatives in the Duma are not tied to any Russian Parliamentary Party, and preserve a complete liberty of action. Their attitude has been one of moderate opposition. In the Council of Empire, the Polish Clubs, not having a sufficient number of votes at their disposal to enable them to propose motions, acted with the Centre Party, which they supported, without, however, foregoing the right of voting independently.

In the last fifty years of the 19th century, and in the first years of the 20th, the necessary conditions for the normal development of political and national life in Russian

Poland were absolutely wanting. It is only since the commencement of the constitutional era (1905) that the situation has markedly improved. Moreover, there could be no question of associations and institutions except of a very mild character; for no socialistic or radical, still less any revolutionary, associations were tolerated. Participation in any such organisations was visited with severe penalties.

Among the Polish political parties which have been formed in the Kingdom in recent years, it is necessary, in the first place, to mention the Democratic National Party.

This Party has exercised the widest influence upon the country. It arose out of the national organisation called the National League, and published its first programme in 1897. The object of this Party was to unite all classes and all parts of Poland in one common aim, that of preparing Poland for reunion and independence by means of a gradual evolution. Its chief work consisted in the education of the masses, and in the organisation of all the active political elements in the country for a constitutional struggle against foreign rule. After the Russian Revolution of 1905, the Democratic National Party directed Polish policy in the Russian Duma. At its head is Roman Dmowski, formerly President of the Polish Club in the second and third Duma. Among its most prominent members may be mentioned Zygmunt Balicki, Jerzy Gosciński, Jan Harusewicz, Victor Jarowski, Mariusz Kamiński, Stanisław Kozicki, Franciszek Nowodworski, Count Maurice Zamoyski, etc. From the commencement of the constitutional era up to the declaration of war, the Democratic Nationalists formed an important majority in the Polish representation in the Duma.

Akin to the Democratic National Party is the Realist Party, which is, however, more moderate in politics, and more conservative on social questions. The Members of this Party have had no representatives in the Duma except in the second Duma (1907); on the other hand, the Realists have always directed Polish policy in the Council of Empire (Upper Chamber). Before the war, this Party was presided over by Henryk Dembiński (who died in 1915); Baron Leopold Kronenberg and Count Stanisław Lubieński were

the Vice-Presidents, M. Erasmus Piltz the political delegate, and M. Józef Wielowieyski the general secretary. It numbered among other prominent members, Fr. S. Chelmicki, Eustachy Dobiecki, Józef Ostrowski, Ignacy Szebeko, Count S. Wielopolski, etc.

On the left of the Democratic National and Realist Parties are the Polish Progressive Party and the Progressive Union. These groups, formed on the model of the radical and free-thinking parties of Western Europe, have pursued a policy of energetic Parliamentary opposition and favoured radical tendencies in social matters. In the Second Duma, the Progressive Party had three representatives attached to the Polish Club. It had two in the Fourth Duma before the war. The most prominent members of the Progressive Party are Alexander Swientochowski, the intellectual leader of the Progressives in Poland, Budkiewicz, Henryk Konic, Ignacy Lypacewicz, Wincenty Lemanski, Stan. Patek, etc.

To mention also some prominent political personalities who do not belong to any Party, there are : in the Kingdom of Poland Prince Sev. Czetwertynski. Lad. Grabski (Ex-Deputy); in Lithuania : Edward Woyintiwicz, Hyp. Korwin Milewski, Paul Koncza, Al. Meysztowicz, Konstanty Skirmunt, Z. Wenclawski; in Ruthenia : Joachim Bartojzewicz, St. Horwatt, Count Xav. Orłowski, Count Józef Potocki, Michal Sobanski; also Al. Lednicki at Moscow, and Lad. Zukowski at Petrograd.

The moderate attitude of the Polish Club and of the Democratic Nationalists induced a portion of the more ardent among them to detach themselves from the Democratic National Party and to form two groups : the "Secession," or Radical National Party, and the "Fronde." The first includes among its representatives Stefan Dziewulski, Gust. Simon and St. Bukowiecki. In the "Fronde" Stan. Libicki and Z. Makowiecki are the leading figures.

The most advanced group, acting more or less openly, was the Peasants' Union (Związek chłopski).

Outside these Parties there existed—of necessity secretly—the National Workmen's Union, the two Polish Socialist Parties (with branches in the three co-partitioning States), the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania, the Bund (Jewish Socialist) and the groups of "Independents"

(Revolutionary Irredentists). It is impossible to estimate the respective strength of these groups, in view of their character as secret associations.¹

As has been said, the conditions of political and social life in Russian Poland were very different from those in Galicia or in Prussian Poland. In Galicia the people enjoyed autonomy and had a local government entrusted to Poles. In Prussia, in spite of the vexations of the administrative authorities, it was possible, thanks to the constitutional régime, to form associations and to extend them with some degree of liberty. In Russian Poland it is only since 1905 that it has been possible to form political and social organisations. As the normal political life in the Kingdom was subjected to administrative hindrances, and as no autonomous organ existed, certain institutions of a purely social character had to include in their activity large spheres of the national life, and thus acquired a real political importance. Three of these in particular have distinguished themselves in this respect in the last few years.

The first, in chronological order, was the "Macierz Szkolna" (the School Mother), whose object was to put the organisation of national Polish education into the hands of Poles, so far at least as circumstances permitted. Unfortunately, after a brief existence of a year and a half, the Macierz Szkolna was suppressed. The second was the Central Agricultural Association which, not confining itself to questions of agriculture, applied itself successfully to the development of the economic forces of the country. (Detailed information about these two societies is given in the Chapters **Public Education** and **Agriculture**).

A third Association, founded at Warsaw in 1907, the Society for the Protection of Social Work, had as its object the study and defence of national questions. Its task consisted in furnishing the Polish representatives in the Duma and in the Council of Education with material and the necessary documents, and in studying public affairs of

¹ Since the outbreak of the war, many new parties have been formed, and there have been many changes in the programmes of existing parties. Nevertheless, the principal parties, such as the Democratic National, the Realist, and the Progressive Parties, continue to play the leading part in Polish politics.

importance. This Association worked in common with the representatives of various other social institutions.

At the moment of the declaration of war, the Committee of this Society was composed of Prince Zdzislaw Lubomirski, president; Count Stan. Lubienski and Wit. Marczewski, vice-presidents; Erasmus Piltz, director of the society; Lad. Grabski and F. Nowodworski, ex-deputies, presidents of sections; and Dr. Wenc. Babinski, general secretary.

IN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

The assembly called the "Circle of the Diet" (Kolo sejmowe), composed of Polish deputies to the Diet of Galicia and to the Parliament of Austria, as well as of Polish members of the House of Lords, is regarded by the Poles of Galicia as their supreme political and national organisation.

The National Council (26 members), formed by Polish Parties in the Diet and the Parliament, had as its object the organisation of the Polish population in defence of national solidarity and national interests during elections. In order to influence public opinion abroad on the subject of Poland, the National Council maintained Polish press agencies at London, Paris, and Rome. The President of the National Council is Tadeusz Cieski.

The majority of the 81 Polish deputies to the Austrian Parliament (Abgeordnetenhaus) observe strictly the principle of national solidarity, and form a united Club called the Polish Club, which includes 67 deputies. Fourteen deputies (socialists and members of the radical section of the Popular Party) have held aloof from this organisation.

The free political and national development of Galicia has rendered possible the formation of numerous Parties.

The conservative tendency is represented by the Conservative Party of Cracow (Party of the "Stanczyk") and by the Autonomist Party of Podolia. These two groups form the Right Wing of the National Party in the Diet.

The Conservative Party of Cracow has as its leader Count Zdzislaw Tarnowski; among its influential members are: Count Stanislaw Tarnowski; Michal Bobrzynski, ex-Lieutenant-General of Galicia; Witold Korytowski, ex-Minister of Finance in Austria, and Lieutenant-General of Galicia;

W. Leopold Jaworski, etc. The "Stanczyk" is composed principally of landed proprietors from Western Galicia and of a part of the intellectual élite of the country.

The Autonomist Party of Podolia is composed of landed proprietors from Eastern Galicia. The leaders of this Party are Abrahamowicz, Garapich, Count Leo Pininski, etc.

The Centre Party occupies an intermediate position between the Conservatives and the Democrats. Prince Witold Czartoryski is its President; its most eminent members are Wladimir Kozlowski, Tadeusz Cienski, Professor Kasznica, etc.

The Democratic National Party follows the same political principles as in the Kingdom and finds support among wide sections of the population. It is recruited from among the members of the liberal professions, officials, and part of the middle classes, the landed proprietors and the rural class. At the head of the Party in Galicia are Ernest Adam, Stanislaw Glombinski, Stanislaw Grabski, Jan Gualbert Pawlikowski, Jan Rozwadowski, Count A. Skarbek, etc.

Affiliated to the preceding Party is the Christian Popular Union, sometimes called the Christian Social, founded by Fr. Stoyalowski, which works chiefly among the peasants of Western Galicia. Its president is Jan Zamorski.

The Party of the "Polish Democracy" includes elements of the middle classes, of the intellectual classes, and the majority of the Polish Jews. The programme of this Party is a moderate liberalism. Its leaders are Jules Leo, President of the City of Cracow; Tadeusz Rutowski, President of the City of Leopold; Ludomil German, Jahl and Nathan Loewenstein.

The Progressive Democratic Group is a section of the Democratic Party with more radical views; its leaders are the deputies Lisiewicz and Sliwinski.

The Popular Party, organised by Wyslouch and J. Stapinski, finds its support among the rural population. It rallies round it the majority of the peasants and a small portion of the intellectual classes. In 1913, the Popular Party split into two groups: the one, radical, with Jan Stapinski at its head, the other more moderate, led by the deputies, Dlugosz, Kendzior and Witos.

The Polish Socialist Party propagates collectivist ideas, and has shown, for some years, revolutionary national tendencies. Its leaders are the deputies Ignacy Daszynski and Diamand.

In the last election to Parliament (1911) the Poles obtained nearly 700,000 votes, which were divided, on the first electoral scrutiny, as follows :—

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| Popular Party | ... | ... | ... | 177,000 |
| Conservatives and Centre Party | ... | ... | ... | 154,000 |
| Democratic Nationalists and Popular Union | ... | ... | ... | 120,000 |
| Polish Democracy | ... | ... | ... | 91,000 |
| Socialists | ... | ... | ... | 58,000 |
| Others | ... | ... | ... | 38,000 |

In Silesia three seats in Parliament are held by Poles (one Socialist, one member of the "Popular Union," and one member of the Popular Party), the votes together numbering 30,000.

The different "Ukrainian" Parties of Galicia (Ruthenian Nationalists) received 72.5 per cent. of the Ruthenian votes; the Russophils obtained the rest, 27.5 per cent.

IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The thorough-going system of Germanisation applied by Prussia has tended to obliterate differences of opinion in the part of Poland which is under Prussian rule. Rivalry among political parties in Prussian Poland is limited: the whole nation is solidly united for the defence of its rights and its civilisation. In presence of the common enemy the ideological and political groups subordinate their party interests to the principle of national solidarity.

The Central Electoral Committee is the highest authority in all electoral questions. The delegates nominated by the electoral assemblies of the districts elect provincial committees (1 Poznań, 2 West and East Prussia, 3 Silesia, 4 and 5 Emigrants on the right and on the left bank of the Elbe). The provincial committees elect several delegates to the Central Electoral Committee, the President of

which at present is Fr. Wolszlegier, with the Chamberlain Cegielski as Vice-President.

The Polish Deputies to Parliament form the Polish Parliamentary Club, consisting of 17 members (president, Prince Ferdinand Radziwill; vice-president, Ladislas Seyda). The 12 Deputies to the Prussian Diet form the Polish Club of the Diet to which belong also the 7 Polish members of the House of Lords (president, L. Mizerski; vice-presidents, Trompczynski and Chlapowski). The two Clubs belong to the opposition. They represent democratic ideas, and study the agricultural interests of the country.

The National Council, founded in 1913, is the supreme consultative organisation for all national and political questions. This Council is composed of 19 delegates from the Central Electoral Committee and from the two Clubs of the Parliament and the Diet. It appoints from among its own members two committees; one for questions of education and intellectual culture, the other for social and economic questions (president, L. Mycielski; vice-president, Fr. Wolszlegier).

The Club of Landed Proprietors which is composed of the great landlords, and conservatives of different shades, is moderate in its tactics, but is resolutely opposed to the present policy of the Government. Its president is Z. Chlapowski, its vice-president, Z. Rychlowski.

The Democratic National Party, which works in closest co-operation with the Democratic National Parties in the Kingdom and Galicia, is the most strongly organised. It conducts an energetic struggle against the anti-Polish policy of the Government, and seeks its support chiefly among the people and the younger generation of the intellectuals and clergy. Its president is B. Chrzanowski, its vice-president, S. Chociszewski.

The Polish centre shares, in regard to political questions, the opinions of the Democratic Nationalists; but in regard to social questions it is more moderate. It is composed in greater part of young landed proprietors. President, W. Grabski, vice-president, Fr. Laubitz.

The Polish Socialists, few in number, are in touch with the German Social-Democrats and have the "Labour Gazette" as their organ.

At the last elections to the German Parliament (1912) Polish candidates received more than 450,000 votes.

| | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------|---------|
| Regency of | Poznanian (Posen) | ... | ... | 131,000 |
| " | " | Byd (Bromberg) | ... | 61,000 |
| " | " | Gdansk (Dantzig) | ... | 35,000 |
| " | " | Kividzyn (Marienwerder) | ... | 64,000 |
| " | " | Opole (Oppeln) | ... | 94,000 |
| " | " | Olsztyn (Allenstein) | ... | 11,000 |
| " | " | Krolewiec (Königsberg) | } 1903 { | 5,000 |
| " | " | Gumbinnen | | 4,000 |

And nearly 50,000 votes in other parts of Germany.

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

In the second half of the 19th century, many Poles, the majority of them working men or agricultural labourers driven from their country by the economic crisis, or by political troubles, began to cross the Atlantic, betaking themselves principally to the United States and sometimes to Canada or South America. A large number of these emigrants return to the mother country and bring with them the fruits of their savings. (See Chapter **Emigration**).

The Poles in the United States enjoy the wide rights accorded to immigrants of all nationalities, but they do not play in public life the part which they should in view of their numerical importance (over 3,000,000). They are not represented in Congress, and have only one Member in the legislative assemblies of the States. They seldom occupy an official position either in the administration or on the self-governing bodies. In several of the larger towns, however, some are on the municipal councils, and act as judges.*

Education in the private schools of the United States can be given freely and without hindrance in any language; and the Poles possess over 400 primary schools, the majority connected with Polish parishes. They contain over 100,000 pupils. There exist, further, several secondary Polish schools, such as the College of Saint Stanislaus Kostka at Chicago, those of Cambridge Springs, of Erie, the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Detroit, etc. The diplomas given by

*See also Appendix.

the secondary Polish schools give admission to some of the higher Government educational institutions.

Almost all the Polish immigrants are Catholics, and the clergy occupy a prominent place in the social and intellectual life of the Polish colony. There are about 800 Polish parishes, and the Bishop of the Diocese of Green Bay (Wisconsin), Monsignor Rhode, is a Pole.

The Poles who have settled in the United States take an active part in the politics of the country, of which the majority of them have become citizens. They belong principally to the two leading parties of the State, Republican and Democrat. Outside American politics, where differences of opinion manifest themselves, the Poles in the United States are in full agreement on questions relating to their nationality, and show an unbreakable solidarity with their distant motherland.

Grouped in numerous associations, they subordinate general party questions to the interests, moral, practical and patriotic, which are bound up with their nationality. The powerful Polish National Federation (with two branches) numbers 120,000 members, and every two years convokes a Diet at Chicago. The contributions of its affiliated associations produce 2,500,000 francs a year. Among other associations, free to both sexes and all religious denominations, are to be noted the Polish Union (2 divisions, 25,000 members), the Polish Falcons Alliance in America (Sokol) (25,000 members), the Associations of Polish Armies in America, and the Union of Polish Youth. Women have formed the Association of Polish Women in America (20,000 members).²

Among Catholic organisations the first place is held by the Polish Roman Catholic League, with 85,000 members and a capital of over 5,000,000 francs. Next come the

² Since the outbreak of the war all Polish organisations, except the Socialist ones, have been consolidated into one Association, under the name of "The Central Polish Relief Committee of America," which, in addition to its philanthropic work, has developed energetic political activities: it has as its watchword—"Poland united and independent, without any foreign Protectorate." The National Department, which has sprung from this Committee, is its executive organ, and acts in unison with the most influential and trustworthy representatives of Polish politics in Europe.

Polish Catholic Federation, and the Association of the Polish Clergy. The National Church Association has a special character of its own with socialistic tendencies.

Socialistic workmen have formed the Union of Polish Socialists of North America, or the Polish Section of the Socialist Party.

The above-mentioned societies include nearly 400,000 Polish men and women. They give clear evidence of the organising and patriotic spirit of these emigrants.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESS

GENERAL HISTORY

IN Poland, as in Western Europe, the periodical press came into existence in the 17th century. The first paper published was the "Merkurjusz Polski" ("The Polish Mercury") founded in 1660, and it was followed by several other periodicals.

The first paper which appeared in the Lithuanian provinces of Poland was the "Kuryer Litewski" ("Lithuanian Courier") which dates from 1759.

In the middle of the 18th century, the Jesuits held a monopoly of the publication of periodicals, a fact which rendered the expansion of the press impossible. After the dissolution of the Order, the ex-Jesuit Luskina obtained a similar privilege in 1773, and up to his death published without any competitors his "Gazeta Warszawska" ("The Warsaw Gazette"), which still continues to appear at the present day.¹

Towards the end of the 18th century, at the time of the Great Diet, much greater progress began to be made. More than a dozen newspapers appeared which treated, not only of the political events of the day, but also of economic and social questions.

The partitions of Poland could not but exercise an injurious influence upon the press, the productions of which, though more and more numerous, had for the most part an ephemeral existence. In the Kingdom of Poland the period 1815—1830 produced more favourable conditions. Literary and scientific Monthly Reviews appeared at Warsaw and

¹ Similar monopolies hampered the press of most countries at the same period, France had no daily paper, until the "Journal de Paris" appeared in 1777.

at Wilno, and the newspapers, edited with increasing care, showed an interest in all new ideas, in literature and the arts and sciences.

The catastrophe of 1831 put an end to the existence of the greater part of the publications in the Kingdom. In Lithuania an edict suppressed the Polish press (there was no other). The publicists emigrated, and founded in Poznan and at Paris influential organs which formed rallying points for the intellectual movement of Poland. In 1850 new difficulties arose. The Prussian Government enacted a Draconian law which, by forbidding the sending of Polish publications by post, rendered their very existence impossible. A short period of prosperity, which began in 1858, was soon interrupted by the persecuting policy of Bismarck. In the Kingdom of Poland it was not till 1860 that journalism began to recover. In spite of the censorship which limited their sphere of action, the Polish journals of that period already rivalled the great French and English papers ("Gazette of Poland," "Warsaw Gazette.")

The later development of the Polish press is too complicated to be treated here in detail. The following table sums it up in outline:—

| <i>Newspapers :</i> | | 1831 | 1865 | 1896 | 1914 |
|-----------------------------|-----|----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| The Russian Empire | ... | 47 | 23 | 76 | 396 |
| Austria-Hungary... | ... | 9 | 33 | 178 | 504 |
| Germany | ... | 6 | 12 | 53 | 205 |
| Western Europe and America* | ... | 10 | 17 | 47 | 107 |
| | | <hr/> 72 | <hr/> 85 | <hr/> 354 | <hr/> 1212 |

This gives, in relation to the Polish population, a proportion of :

*Several of the first Polish publications in America were connected with the insurrection of 1863, and had but a brief existence:—"The Polish Echo" (Echo Polskie), 1863-64; "Independence" (Niepodlegloiz), 1865-66; "The White Eagle" (Orzew Bialy), 1870-72. From that time the Polish press in America developed rapidly, and there are at the present time 93 Polish publications there.

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|-----------|--------|-------|--------|----------|---------|
| 1 | publication | for every | 31,000 | Poles | in the | Russian | Empire. |
| 1 | ,, | ,, | 21,000 | ,, | ,, | Germany. | |
| 1 | ,, | ,, | 11,000 | ,, | ,, | Austria. | |
| 1 | ,, | ,, | 36,000 | ,, | ,, | America. | |

It is to her abnormal political conditions that Poland owes her inferiority in respect of the press.

Thus :

in England there is 1 paper for 4,400 inhabitants
 in France there is 1 paper for 6,500 inhabitants.
 in Germany there is 1 paper for 9,000 inhabitants
 in Poland there is 1 paper for 22,000 inhabitants.

Only Russia, with one paper for 34,000 inhabitants, and the Balkan peoples have a less developed press.

This state of things is due to many causes, of which the dismemberment of the country and the censorship are the most important. The Galician press alone enjoys normal liberty. The Russian and Prussian Censorships have always had a pernicious influence upon the development of the Polish press, and have often rendered any manifestation of national thought impossible. Moreover, Russia and Prussia put difficulties in the way of the admission into their territories of Polish papers published outside their frontiers. The result is that Polish periodicals can circulate only within the narrow limits of each of the three parts of Poland. In view of these circumstances, the total figure of 1,212 periodicals appears far from insignificant.

The periodicals above mentioned (of which 17 are in foreign languages, but devoted to Poland) may be classified as follows :—

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Daily publications | ... | ... | 154 |
| Weekly | ... | ... | 433 |
| Fortnightly | ... | ... | 221 |
| Monthly | ... | ... | 315 |
| Quarterly | ... | ... | 76 |
| Others | ... | ... | 13 |

This press is chiefly to be found in the large towns (Warsaw, Cracow, Leopoldis, Poznan, Wilno). Except for

the Polish newspapers in the United States, some of which have a circulation of 120,000 copies, the largest circulation of any Polish paper is that of the "Gazeta Grudziondzka" ("Gazette of Graudenz") in West Prussia, which has a circulation of 100,000 copies. About 15 papers have a circulation of 30,000 to 70,000, and ten a circulation of 10,000 to 25,000. The average circulation of a Polish paper is 1,500 copies, while in France, England, and Germany the average is 4,000. It must be added that the Societies of Publicists and Men of Letters, in Warsaw, Cracow, and Leopoldis, have exercised a most beneficial influence upon the development and value of the Polish press.

Over a hundred periodicals, devoted to special and technical questions (agriculture, industry, trades, co-operation, sport, etc.) appear in the three parts of Poland. (For purely scientific, literary and artistic reviews see **Science and Literature**).

THE POLISH PRESS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

In 1913, out of 396 periodicals, 346 appeared in the Kingdom, and of these 267 were published at Warsaw. The paper with the largest circulation is the "Kurjer Warszawski" ("Warsaw Courier"), founded in 1821. It does not belong to any political party, and is edited by K. Olchowicz. The "Słowo" ("The Word"), edited by Jozef Wielowieyski, was the organ of the Conservative Party ("The Realist Party"). The oldest newspaper, the "Gazeta Warszawska" ("Warsaw Gazette"), edited by Stanislaw Kozicki, was founded in 1774. It has been since 1906 the official organ of the Democratic National Party, the most influential party in the Kingdom. To this Party belongs also the "Gazeta Poranna" ("Morning Post"), edited by Antoni Sadzewicz, a popular paper devoted especially to the interests of Polish trade and commerce. The "Goniec Warszawski" ("Warsaw Messenger"), edited by Z. Makowiecki, represents the policy of the Radical Nationalists. The "Kurjer Poranny" ("Morning Courier"), edited by K. Erenberg, is a Progressive paper with a large circulation. The "Nowa Gazeta" ("New Gazette"), edited by S. Kempner, is the organ of the Progressive Radicals and of the Polish Israelites.

In the Provinces of the Kingdom must be noted: at Lodz, the "Rozwoj" ("Progress"), Progressive; at Lublin, the "Ziemia Lubelska" ("Land of Lublin"), Radical National; the "Głos Lubelski" ("Voice of Lublin"), Democratic National; and the "Dziennik Kujawski" ("Journal of Kouiavia"). The organs of various Socialistic parties appear secretly: "Kilinski," the organ of the Radical Nationalist workmen, the "Gazeta Robotnicza" ("Workman's Gazette"), two papers called the "Robotnik" ("The Workman") and "Czerwony Sztandar" ("The Red Flag").

Among the Reviews, the most important is the "Biblioteka Warszawska" ("The Warsaw Library"), a monthly, which has appeared for the last 75 years. The "Przegląd Narodowy" ("National Review"), founded in 1907, and edited by Zygmunt Balicki, defends the principles of the Democratic National Party. The Progressive elements have two weekly organs "Prawda" ("Truth") and "Humanista" ("The Humanist"), edited by A. Swientochowski. The Radical Nationalists publish the "Tygodnik Polski" ("The Polish Week"). The "Mysł niepodległa" ("Independent Thought") edited by Niemojewski, is anti-clerical.

Several weekly illustrated magazines circulate throughout Poland, among them:—the "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" ("Weekly Illustrated"), founded more than half a century ago (edited by Dr. Joseph Wolff); the "Świat" ("The World"), edited by Stephen Krzywoszewski, etc.

The popular press which had remained stationary for many years in consequence of adverse political conditions, has for some little time back begun to make progress, and we may mention "Zorza" ("Aurora"), "Gazeta Świąteczna" ("Holiday Gazette"), founded by Promyk, one of the most zealous promoters of the education of the masses, "Zaraniec" ("Dawn"), "Ognisko" ("The Hearth"), etc.

In Lithuania and Ruthenia, the Polish Press was absolutely suppressed from 1865 to 1905. For 23 years the void has been partly filled by the "Kraj" ("Country"), a weekly review with a wide circulation in all parts of Poland, founded (in 1882), and edited by Erasmus Piltz at Petrograd.

The political situation having changed since 1905, the Polish press in the Empire outside the Kingdom possesses 50 publications, nine of which appear at Wilno.

The best known paper at Wilno is the "Kurjer Litewski" ("Lithuanian Courier"); at Kiev, the "Dziennik Kijowski" ("Journal of Kiev"). Among the weekly reviews must be mentioned the "Przegląd Wilenski" ("Wilno Review"), Progressive; and the "Pogon" ("The Pursuer") at Minsk.

At Petrograd two publications should be especially mentioned the "Dziennik Petrogradzki" ("Petrograd Daily") and the "Głos Polski" ("Voice of Poland").²

IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The Polish press in Austria-Hungary, though restricted by the censorship during the pre-autonomous period up to 1860, began to assume from that date onwards remarkable proportions. In addition to dailies representing the most varied political opinions, special publications have propagated scientific, æsthetic, and literary ideas. Furthermore, the popular press became more and more important. Out of 504 Polish periodicals appearing in Austria, 207 are published at Leopoldis and 165 at Cracow.

Among the dailies the oldest is the "Gazeta Lwowska" ("Leopoldis Gazette") an official daily founded in 1811. The "Czas" ("The Times") has appeared at Cracow since 1849; it is the organ of the Conservative Party of the "Stanczyk." (See **Organisations**). The "Podolian" Conservatives are represented by the "Gazeta Narodowa" ("National Gazette") at Leopoldis. The "Głos Narodu" ("Voice of the Nation"), which appears at Cracow, has a large circulation. It has nationalist and Christian-Social tendencies.

At the outbreak of the war, the daily with the largest circulation was the "Słowo Polskie" ("Polish Word") of

² During the war many newspapers have been founded in Russia, for instance: "Dziennik Polski" ("Polish Daily") and a weekly, "Sprawa Polska" ("Polish Cause"), organs of the Polish National Committee at Petrograd; and the "Gazeta Polska" ("Polish Gazette"), a Democratic National paper at Moscow. The "Wiadomości Wojskowe" ("The Military News") at Kiev is devoted to the question of the Polish army.

Leopolis, the organ of the Democratic National Party. The "Nowa Reforma" ("New Reform") of Cracow, and the "Gazeta Wieczona" ("Evening Gazette") of Leopolis represent the Democratic Party, the "Kurjer Lwowski" ("Leopolis Courier") the Popular Party. The "Wiek Nowy" ("The New Century") of Leopolis is the organ of the Radical Democratic Party, the "Naprzod" ("Forward") and the "Glos" ("The Voice") are the organs of the Socialist Party. The "Kurjer Codzienny Ilustrowany" ("Illustrated Daily Courier") is a popular daily with a large circulation.

The weekly papers which have the most influence on the rural classes are the "Przyjacieli Ludu" ("Friend of the People") and the "Piastr," which represent respectively two branches of the Popular Party. There may also be mentioned the "Ojczyzna" ("Fatherland") and the "Wieniec i Pszczolka" ("The Bee"), of a Democratic National and Christian Social tendency. The University students issue two publications: the "Promien" ("Ray"), Socialist; and the "Zarzewie" ("Embers"), Radical National.

Among literary and scientific Monthly Reviews, which have at the same time political tendencies, must be noted the "Przegląd Polski" ("Polish Review"), Conservative; and the "Przegląd Powszechny" ("Universal Review"), a clerical organ; the "Krytyka" ("Critic"), Radical; the "Świat Słowiański" ("Slav World"), which propagates Polish Slavophilism.

In Austrian Silesia, Polish interests are defended by the popular dailies: "Dziennik Cieszyński" ("Journal of Teschen"), and the "Gwiazdka Cieszyńska" ("Star of Teschen"). The "Podhalanin" is the organ of the Polish population situated in the region of Podhale (Carpathians), in the provinces of Spisz and Orawa (Hungary).

The "Gazeta Polska" ("Polish Gazette") appears in the Bukovina.

IN GERMANY

The restrictions and persecutions to which the Poles are subjected in Prussia gives the press in that part of Poland a very special importance. It is the press which guides the

thought of the people, keeps it informed, and testifies by the living word to the ties that unite the Poles of Prussia to those of the other parts of Poland.

Out of a total of 205 periodicals, 67 appear at Poznan (Posen); the rest in the Polish provinces (Grand Duchy, West and East Prussia, Upper Silesia) and among the emigrants in Germany.

In the Grand Duchy of Poznan appears the oldest paper, the "Dziennik Poznanski" ("Journal of Poznan"), Moderate Conservative, under the editorship of K. Puffke. The principal organ of the Democratic National Party is the "Kurjer Poznanski" ("Courier of Posnan"), of which Dr. M. Seyda was the editor, supported by a series of publications in that town and in the provinces. The "Dziennik Kujawski" ("Journal of Kujavia") is in sympathy with the Centre Party. The "Dziennik Bydgoski" ("Journal of Bromberg") represents popular tendencies. The Press of West Prussia is animated by an equally ardent national spirit. It includes numerous organs, of which the principal are the "Pielgrzym" ("Pilgrim"), Christian-Social; the "Gazeta Grudziondzka" ("Gazette of Graudenz"), the "Gazeta Gdanska" ("Gazette of Dantzig"), the "Gazeta Torunska" ("Gazette of Torun"), etc.

In East Prussia there exist two national publications, the "Gazeta Olzytyńska" ("Gazette of Allenstein") and the "Mazur." In Silesia the Polish paper with the largest circulation is the "Katolik." Democratic-National tendencies are represented by the "Gazeta Ludowa" ("Gazette of the People"). At Opole appears the "Gazeta Opolska" ("Gazette of Oppeln"). The "Gazeta Robotnicza" ("Workman's Gazette") propagates Socialistic ideas.

The Polish Emigrants in the heart of Germany publish, among other papers, the "Dziennik Berlinski" ("Berlin Daily") and, in Westphalia, the "Wiarius Polski" ("Polish Soldier"), and the "Narodowiec" ("National"), with popular tendencies.

The popular political press of Prussian Poland has in general a very large circulation. Some of the papers have nearly 100,000 subscribers. The Reviews, the "Robotnik"

("The Workman") and the "Przegłond Katolicki" ("Catholic Review"), dedicated to social questions, have a circulation of 40,000 to 70,000 copies. There exist also at Poznan several weekly illustrated publications, of a more or less popular character.

IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

After the events of 1830—1831, the intellectual élite of the Kingdom emigrated to the West of Europe, especially to France, where, for thirty years, a great development of the Polish press took place. Numerous scientific and literary publications were issued, excellent dailies appeared of different shades of opinion, such as the "Dziennik Narodowy" ("National Journal"), the "Pielgrzym Polski" ("Polish Pilgrim"), the "Młoda Polska" ("Young Poland"), etc. Among these periodicals, both for the ability of its editorship and for the consistency of its views, the "Wiadomosci Polskie" ("Polish News"), which appeared in Paris about 1860, had no rival.

In the last few years, there have been published in Paris, and in certain towns in Switzerland, Radical and Socialist papers, of which the publication would have been impossible in Poland. In addition to these Polish journals, there have been published for a long time past periodical bulletins in French, German and Italian, with the object of informing public opinion on the subject of Poland. Before the war there were 14 Polish periodical publications in the capitals of some of the principal European countries. For some years there has appeared at Paris the weekly review "Polonia," edited by W. Gasiorowski.

IN AMERICA

There are 93 Polish publications in America; 24 of which appear at Chicago. They are in general supported by important Polish organisations. The most powerful of these in the United States is the "Zwiazek Narodowy Polski" ("Polish National Union") which publishes the "Dziennik Zwiazkowy" ("Journal of the Union") with a circulation of 60,000 copies, and the weekly review "Zgoda" ("Concord") with 120,000 copies. There must also be mentioned: the

"Dziennik Chicagowski" ("Journal of Chicago"), a clerical organ; the "Dziennik dla Wszystkich" ("Journal for All"), which, originally a National organ, then a Clerical, has now become Socialistic, and furthers Austrophil tendencies; the "Kurjer Polski" ("Polish Courier"), the "Dziennik Narodowy" ("National Journal") Progressive organs; the "Ameryki Echo" ("American Echo"), Radical Popular; the "Dziennik Ludowy" ("Journal of the People"), Socialist; the "Głos Polek" ("Voice of Polish Women"), Progressive feminist; "Free Thought," anti-clerical; and "Robotnik Polski" ("Polish Workman"), Socialist.

There should also be mentioned "Polak w Ameryce" ("The Pole in America"), at Buffalo; "Rekord Codzienny" ("Daily Record") at Detroit; "Dziennik Polski" ("Polish Daily") also at Detroit; and the fortnightly review "Free Poland," published in English by the Polish National Committee, which renders great service to Polish affairs by popularising Polish questions among the American people.

Three Polish papers appear in South America, among which we may mention "Polak" ("The Pole") in Brazil.

SECOND PART

AGRICULTURE—MINERAL WEALTH—INDUSTRY —COMMERCE—COMMUNICATIONS—CREDIT— FINANCE—THE LABOUR QUESTION— EMIGRATION.

CHAPTER I AGRICULTURE

THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE AND THE VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

THE economic structure of a country is reflected fairly accurately in the statistics of the occupations of its inhabitants. It is true in regard to Polish territories that the figures cannot serve as a basis for absolutely exact comparisons, for statistical methods vary in the three parts of Poland. The result of this is that the true relation of the figures is sometimes altered.¹ However, the data permit us at least to judge of the relative importance of the different branches of productive activity in Poland, and give a general idea of the economic life of the country.

¹ It would seem, for example, from the accompanying table, that in Poznań, and in the Regency of Olsztyn, industry is more widespread than in the Kingdom. This is not correct, even if allowance is made for the difference in the dates of the census. It is to be noted also that the fourth column of the table: "Domestic Servants, Servants and Day Labourers," does not refer to the same categories of persons in Prussian Poland and in Russian Poland. Again, the figures for the Kingdom under this last head are decidedly too high; for Russian statistics sometimes erroneously class farm servants, actually employed in agriculture, as servants.

**Classification of the inhabitants of the different parts of
Poland according to their occupations :**

| | Agriculture and Kindred Occupations | Industry and Mines | Commerce and Communications | Domestic Servants. Servants Day Labourers | Public Offices and Liberal Professions | Others |
|-------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|--------|
| Kingdom of Poland (1897) | 56.6 | 15.4 | 8.4 | 10.2 | 2.5 | 6.9 |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia (1897) | 73.4 | 9.0 | 6.7 | 4.3 | 2.1 | 4.5 |
| South West Ruthenia (1897) .. | 73.3 | 8.5 | 7.3 | 5.1 | 2.1 | 3.7 |
| Galicia (1900) | 76.6 | 8.8 | 5.4 | 3.3 | 2.3 | 3.6 |
| Poznan (1907) | 54.1 | 23.4 | 8.7 | 1.2 | 5.1 | 7.5 |
| West Prussia (1907) .. | 49.9 | 24.1 | 9.2 | 1.8 | 6.0 | 9.0 |
| Regency of Olsztyn (1907) | 60.5 | 17.6 | 6.2 | 1.1 | 6.5 | 8.1 |
| Upper Silesia (1907) .. | 28.9 | 47.7 | 8.8 | 1.1 | 3.9 | 9.6 |

It will be clearly seen from the table that the territories of ancient Poland, with the exception of Upper Silesia (known also as the Silesia of Opole), are still essentially agricultural, the greater part of the population deriving its means of existence from agriculture. If it were possible to deduct from these figures, people living at the expense of others (children, old men, the sick, and an important number of women), the percentage of individuals employed in agriculture would be still higher, as is shown by the German statistics concerning Prussian Poland. However, the proportion of the population living by agriculture is daily diminishing, and the value of industrial production is beginning to equal, and sometimes even to surpass, that of agricultural production. Thus industrial production in the Kingdom of Poland in 1910 was valued at 2,279,000,000

francs and together with the production of home crafts and industries, at nearly 3 milliards of francs, whereas agricultural production reached about 1,800,000,000 francs. According to the estimates of the Department of Agriculture, the average annual value from 1910—1912 of the produce of the land (not counting pasture, forests, or animal products) amounted in the Kingdom to 1,282,600,000 francs.

In Galicia, in 1911, the total value of the principal cereals (wheat, rye, barley, oats) and potatoes amounted to 772,800,000 francs, whereas the value of mining and industrial production was in 1910 637,380,000. In Galicia the annual production of industry (in the wide sense of the word) during the last few years may be valued at about one milliard; the value of the total production of Galician agriculture amounts at least to the same figure.

However, on account of the great density of the population and the want of skill of the farmers in certain Polish districts, agricultural production, at least in regard to cereals, is not sufficient for the consumption of the country. This is particularly the case in the Kingdom, and has been, for some years past, the case in Galicia. On the other hand, the countries of the East (Ruthenia) and of the West (Poznań and West Prussia) produce much more than they consume and can devote the surplus to the provisioning of the central regions of Poland. (See **Commerce**.)

In 1912, the production of the four principal cereals (rye, wheat, oats, barley) in the whole territory of Poland amounted to 21,392,000 tons; potatoes, 34,469,000 tons; sugar beets, 12,900,000 tons. The landed estates belonging to Poles (without counting those belonging to people of other nationalities) hold the fifth place among those of the nations of Europe if we consider the extent of the lands under cultivation (at least 22,000,000 hectares without the forests) and the importance of the annual production.

LANDED PROPERTY

The reforms which suppressed *corvées* and made the peasants proprietors, reforms effected at different periods and in different ways by the co-partitioning States, are the basis and starting point of the existing land system in

Poland. (See **Social Development.**) However, all the three divisions of the ancient Republic have one feature in common, namely, a strong tendency to the breaking up of large estates, an operation which, in the last few years, has given a marked preponderance to small ownership. The agrarian crisis, which was felt in all parts of Europe in the last twenty years of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, was especially trying to the large landowners, further weakened as they were (at least in Lithuania, in the Kingdom, and Galicia) by the recent agrarian reforms, and subject, more than the owners of medium-sized and small properties, to the fluctuations of international economic situations. This continual breaking up of large estates is encouraged also by the influx of capital amassed from the savings of emigrants from the villages: it is facilitated by the support lent by official institutions, such as the Commission of Colonisation in Poznań and West Prussia, the Peasants' Bank in the Kingdom, in Lithuania and Ruthenia, and lastly by a most powerful moral factor: the land-hunger so marked in the peasant.²

Subdivision of Property. In the Kingdom, small peasant proprietors acquired, between 1870 and 1909, 1,493,633 hectares (12 to 16 per cent. of the total area of the country), two-thirds through land division, and one-third as indemnities for the redemption of servitudes. In Lithuania and White Ruthenia, in spite of the laws of exception applying to the acquisition of land by Catholic peasants, small properties increased, during nearly the same period of time, by about two million hectares, and in South West Ruthenia by nearly 400 thousand hectares. In Galicia, from 1859 to 1914, small properties have increased by 450 thousand hectares. The increase there was on an average nine thousand hectares a year between 1890 and 1902, and 21 thousand hectares a year between 1903 and 1909. Thus, between 1859 and 1914, the large Galician estates diminished in extent by 16 per cent. In Poznań, from 1905 to 1907, the area occupied by the large estates (over 100 hectares) diminished by 250,246 hectares. Between 1882

²The peasants buy land at prices so excessive that the capital which they thus employ cannot produce a normal rate of interest.

and 1907 the large estates in the same country lost 11.4 per cent. of their total agricultural area (without forests) and in West Prussia 10.6 per cent. The change that has taken place in these two provinces has been almost exclusively in favour of peasant properties of from 2 to 20 hectares.

In Poznań and in the Lithuano-Ruthenian Governments the democratisation of the soil is the least marked. In Poznań small properties under 100 hectares occupy 54 per cent. of the total area and 56 per cent. of the fields (without counting forests). In Lithuania (the three governments of Wilno, Grodno, Kowno) estates under 60 acres cover 51 per cent. of the total area, and nearly the same proportion obtains in Ruthenia.

In all the other provinces of ancient Poland small properties constitute about 60 per cent., and even more (64.6 per cent. in Upper Silesia) of the territory of the country. If fields only (without forests) are taken into account this proportion is still higher. In the Kingdom of Poland it reaches 70 per cent., in Galicia 75 per cent., and, together with communal property, 81 per cent. This predominance of small estates presents different aspects in different parts of Poland. The question of small properties must be examined more closely, for it has a profound influence upon agricultural production in general, and is the cause of the social strength of the most numerous class in Poland.

In the Kingdom of Poland small properties have an average area of six hectares. The dominant type is that of properties of from 3.4 to 8.5 hectares, which, in 1904, included 44.4 per cent. of the total number of small properties and 32.2 per cent. of their area. But, in addition to these small properties, there are others even more minute, incapable of maintaining even a single family of cultivators. They owe their existence to the reform of 1864, and are only too common in the country.

In 1904 the number of properties not exceeding 1.7 hectares in extent amounted to 205,836, and included 18.7 of the total number of small properties: and 18.4 per cent. of those from 1.7 to 3.4. The number of peasant properties of over 8.5 hectares is unfortunately declining more and more, for these properties are not only independent, but also really profitable from the economic

point of view, and it is these alone which can procure for their holders a modest surplus. In Lithuania, the average size of small estates is about ten hectares; it is a little less in White Ruthenia and in South West Ruthenia (six hectares). It should be noted here that in the Lithuano-Ruthenian Government the Poles are principally large land-owners, and thus the question of small ownership affects them only indirectly. It is in Galicia that small estates show the most abnormal land division. This can be easily seen from the accompanying table:—

| Properties | Percentage of the total number of small properties | Percentage of the area of small properties |
|---------------------|--|--|
| Up to 2 hectares .. | 48.3 | 15 (9.2 of the area of the country) |
| From 2 to 5 .. | 36.1 | 38 |
| „ 5 to 10 .. | 12.4 | 28.5 |
| „ 10 to 20 .. | 2.6 | 11 |
| „ 20 to 100 .. | 0.6 | 7.5 |

Nearly half the present estates belong therefore to the “dwarf” type, that is to say, are less than two hectares, and of these estates, occupying 53 per cent. of the total area of small properties, over 84 per cent. are too small to maintain a family. It should be added that the division of estates in Galicia has always been more pronounced than in other parts of Poland. The agrarian reform of 1848 and the abrogation of the law forbidding the division of properties in 1868, still further accelerated the movement towards subdivision.

The number of properties, which amounted in 1820 to 527,740, had already reached 584,625 in 1857, an increase of 11 per cent., and had reached 1,008,541 in 1902, an increase of 91 per cent.

In Poznan and West Prussia the division of property is more normal. In Poznan properties below two hectares do

not cover more than 2.72 per cent. of the area of the country ; those of 2 to 5 hectares, 4.06 per cent. ; those of 5 to 20 hectares, 25.70 per cent. ; those of 20 to 100 hectares, 21.53 per cent.

In West Prussia the figures are more or less the same, but the conditions are still more advantageous : properties of from 20 to 100 hectares occupy 33 per cent. of the total area of the province (small properties occupy 63 per cent.).

In Upper Silesia, small properties of from 5 to 20 hectares cover 31.6 per cent. of the total area. Properties below 2 hectares are relatively numerous (6.8 of the total area). The situation, moreover, is not too unfavourable, for the peasants easily find a supplementary means of earning money in the flourishing industries of the country.

The sub-division of property into infinitesimal portions, especially in Galicia, and to a certain degree in the Kingdom, and the absence of medium-sized agricultural enterprises which might serve as a link between the great and small estates, are the essential defects of the agrarian situation in the Polish territories in question. This anomalous state of things is made still worse by servitudes and the intermingling of lots.

This intermingling, which makes the distribution of cultivated land resemble a jigsaw puzzle, attains amazing proportions in the province of Galicia and prevents any rational cultivation. In this country, a peasant property is, on an average, divided into twenty or thirty scattered lots. The Kingdom and the Lithuano-Ruthenian Governments also suffer from the same evil. However, for some time past, thanks to the abolition of a defective system of legislation, the joining together of the scattered lots is advancing fairly rapidly.

In regard to "servitudes,"³ these, either from negligence or in order to favour the political aims of the respective Government, were not definitely regulated at the time of the agrarian reforms in Galicia and the Kingdom. This litigious question of servitudes, which have been suppressed

³ Rights of free pasture and rights of cutting accorded to the peasants on the estates and in the forests of the great landowners.

in Russia, as well as in the State domains and Russian entailed estates in the Kingdom of Poland, has been allowed by the Russian Government to continue in these provinces, for political reasons and in order to maintain social discord. Apart from their pernicious social influence, servitudes hinder rational cultivation on the great estates. By this time (1912) over 72 per cent. of the servitudes have already been settled by consent; but there still exist no fewer than 91,165 peasants who have not consented to an arrangement. Moreover, the existing legislation offers no facilities.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The division of the territory of Poland, according to the principal forms of cultivation, is as follows:—

| District | Arable Land | Percentage of the total area of the country | | | | Total area in hectares |
|--|-------------|---|---------|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | Meadows and Pasture | Forests | Gardens, Parks, etc. | Uncultivated or not described | |
| Kingdom of Poland, 1909 .. | 56.3 | 14.8 | 18.0 | 3.9 | 7.0 | 12,284,786 ⁴ |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia, 1887 .. | 31.6 | 16.4 | 32.4 | 3.6 | 16.0 | 27,521,000 |
| South West Ruthenia, 1887 .. | 53.9 | 9.9 | 18.8 | 9.3 | 8.1 | 15,336,000 |
| Galicja, 1912 | 48.5 | 20.9 | 25.7 | 1.4 | 3.5 | 7,849,252 |
| Duchy of Cieszyn, 1897 .. | 47.4 | 16.2 | 13.1 | 2.2 | 3.1 | 228,000 |
| Poznań, 1913 ⁵ .. | 63.7 | 10.4 | 19.9 | 6.0 | | 2,899,300 |
| West Prussia, 1913 ⁵ .. | 56.1 | 11.6 | 22.9 | 9.4 | | 2,555,800 |
| Upper Silesia, 1913 ⁵ .. | 56.5 | 8.8 | 28.8 | 5.9 | | 1,323,000 |
| Regency of Olsztyn, 1913 ⁵ .. | 50.5 | 15.6 | 21.6 | 21.3 | | 1,203,000 |

⁴ This figure, quoted from the works of the Statistical Committee of

Although the proportion between the various forms of cultivation in Poland is fairly normal, the extent of arable land in comparison with the relatively small extent of forest is striking. Germany, for example, possessed in 1913 48.1 per cent. of arable land and gardens taken together; Prussia, 50.4 per cent.; whereas in nearly all the Polish provinces this proportion is exceeded, Poznanian coming first with 63.7 per cent.

The forests in Galicia form 25.7 per cent. of the total area; in Poznanian 19.8 per cent.; in the Kingdom only 18 per cent. In Austria this proportion amounts to 32.6 per cent.; in Germany to 26 per cent. Lithuania and White Ruthenia alone, with Cieszyn, are distinguished among the territories of the former republic of Poland by the large proportion of forests. It should be added that in certain Polish territories the wooded area decreased enormously in the 19th century. In the Kingdom in 1816—1820 it still constituted 30.1 per cent. of the total area; in Galicia, in 1842, 31.5 per cent.; on the other hand, it has remained more or less the same, at least since 1878, in Poznanian and West Prussia.

The forests belong chiefly to the great landowners. The disproportion between the great amount of land and the small amount of forest owned by small proprietors is particularly striking in Galicia. Small properties, therefore, play an even larger part in agricultural production, properly so called, than is indicated by the percentage, high though it be, of peasant estates.

In the territories of the ancient Republic of Poland there is relatively very little uncultivated land, except in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, concerning which the only available statistics are somewhat antiquated. Consequently the future extension of arable land in Poland can only be insignificant, especially if the small proportion of meadows, pasture and forests is also taken into consideration.

Warsaw (Official), see "*Statystyka Polski*," p. 106, table 77, differs considerably from other data, likewise official (See **Country** and **Inhabitants**). The chief reason lies in the fact that certain statistics include water in the total area. We note this contradiction without being able to solve it or explain it completely.

⁵ For the four provinces of Prussian Poland, these figures also include gardens.

The accompanying table of land devoted to different forms of cultivation will give a still better idea of the agricultural structure of the territories of ancient Poland :

| Territories | Rye | Wheat | Oats | Barley | Potatoes | Total |
|---------------------------------|------|-------|------|--------|----------|-------|
| Kingdom of Poland | 30.5 | 7.3 | 16.5 | 7.3 | 15.5 | 77.1 |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia .. | 33.3 | 1.7 | 15.0 | 7.1 | 8.6 | 65.7 |
| South West Ruthenia .. | 18.5 | 15.7 | 13.3 | 7.5 | 3.6 | 58.6 |
| Galicia | 18.4 | 15.1 | 18.2 | 8.3 | 13.3 | 73.3 |
| Duchy of Cieszyn .. | 17.6 | 5.6 | 25.9 | 5.6 | 18.5 | 73.2 |
| Poznań ⁶ .. | 40.3 | 4.5 | 9.3 | 7.1 | 17.1 | 78.3 |
| West Prussia ⁶ .. | 30.4 | 5.2 | 12.4 | 6.1 | 14.8 | 68.9 |

This table shows the capital importance in the territories of ancient Poland of the cultivation of the five products mentioned. In Poznań and the Kingdom of Poland cultivation of these cereals takes up more than three-fourths of the arable land ; in the other provinces (except South West Ruthenia) the proportion is usually about 70 per cent. ; nevertheless the part taken by each of these crops in the whole of the area under cultivation differs greatly according to the district. Rye holds the first place in the provinces annexed by Prussia, in Lithuania, and in the Kingdom of Poland. Wheat, on the other hand, is widely cultivated in Galicia and on the rich soil of South West Ruthenia.

Among other crops mention should first be made of the sugar beet, which is very extensively cultivated in certain districts of Poland. In 1912 this important plant, which bears witness to the richness of the soil as well as to the high development of agriculture, occupied 401,000 hectares in South West Ruthenia ; 116,000 hectares in Poznań,

⁶ The figures concerning Poznań and West Prussia are calculated according to the area of arable land and gardens in 1914. See " *Stat. Jahrb. f.d. Deutsche Reich, 1915.*"

West Prussia and Upper Silesia; 83,000 hectares in the Kingdom of Poland; 7,000 hectares in Galicia (0.2 per cent. of the fields). Total, without counting the small contributions of Lithuania and the Duchy of Cieszyn, 607,000 hectares.

Certain fodder products, especially clover, have also a considerable importance in Poland. To this should be added peas, beans, buckwheat and various industrial crops, such as hemp, flax, colza, hops, tobacco and chicory.

The standard of cultivation is highest in Poznań and West Prussia. The use of the most improved machinery, sowing machines, steam threshing machines, steam ploughs, is very widespread. Chemical manures are employed there in large quantities; in Poznań alone they amount annually to about 1.2 million metric quintals of superphosphate, one million of tomasine, etc. A large number of great estates possess railways of their own for agricultural development. The increase in the returns from the soil shows in an indisputable way the rapid progress of agricultural technique. The production per hectare is as follows (in metric quintals) :—

| Provinces | | | Rye | | Wheat | |
|--------------|----|----|---------|------|---------|------|
| | | | 1885-94 | 1913 | 1885-94 | 1913 |
| Poznań | .. | .. | 8.3 | 19.3 | 10.1 | 23.5 |
| West Prussia | .. | .. | 8.0 | 16.0 | 13.9 | 22.2 |

In the period from 1885—94 to 1913, the rye and wheat harvest per hectare increased in Poznań nearly two and a half times; in West Prussia it has almost doubled. It should be noted, by way of comparison, that in France the returns from the soil were for wheat, in 1815, 8.6 hectolitre per hectare; in 1855, 15.7 hl.; in 1912, 18.03 hl. = 13.8 metric quintals; in 1913, provisionally, 17.3 hl. (See "*Annuaire Statistique de la France, 1912.*")

In general these two Polish provinces of Prussia can be compared advantageously with the best managed agricultural countries in Europe. Thus it is not without reason that they are called the Granary of Germany. (See **Commerce.**)

Agriculture is less advanced in the Kingdom of Poland and in Galicia. Improved methods of cultivation are not in such common use as in Poznań and West Prussia. Nevertheless, the progress of agriculture has been remarkable in the last few years. In Galicia the increase in the returns from the soil, between 1899—1908 and 1911—1912 was about 30 per cent.; in the Kingdom, between 1895—1900 and 1911—1912, about 25 per cent.

Lithuania and the Ruthenian Governments may also be said on the whole to be rapidly developing. The three Southern Governments of Wolhynia, Podolia, Kiev—with their very fertile black soil—are considerably in advance of White Ruthenia and even of Lithuania, although the western part of Lithuania has already a fairly intensive culture, comparable to that of the adjacent Kingdom of Poland. This progress of agriculture in Lithuania and Ruthenia is above all due to the Polish element, which still

| Returns from the soil per hectare in metric quintals in 1912 | Rye | Wheat | Oats | Barley | Potatoes | Sugar Beets |
|---|------|-------|------|--------|----------|--------------------|
| Kingdom of Poland | 11.0 | 13.0 | 10.0 | 13.0 | 104.3 | 206.0 |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia .. | 8.0 | 9.9 | 7.2 | 7.0 | 96.8 | — |
| South West Ruthenia .. | 10.6 | 11.7 | 10.8 | 10.6 | 76.4 | 177.0 ^a |
| Galicia | 12.3 | 13.4 | 10.2 | 11.7 | 106.5 | 214.1 |
| Duchy of Cieszyn | 11.5 | 10.2 | 11.4 | 12.5 | 79.1 | 183.3 |
| Poznań, 1913 .. | 19.3 | 23.5 | 22.4 | 23.8 | 186.9 | 329.2 |
| West Prussia, 1913 | 16.0 | 22.2 | 21.2 | 23.0 | 161.8 | 289.9 |
| Regency of Olsztyn | 14.8 | 16.4 | 12.5 | 15.5 | 120.1 | 270.0 |
| Upper Silesia .. | 17.8 | 20.5 | 20.7 | 22.7 | 147.7 | 296.0 |

^a The average between 1905 and 1910 was 96 quintals.

^b The figure 177.0 refers to the year 1911: in 1912, a bad harvest year, the return for beetroots was 125.6 per cent.

possesses the greater part of the large estates in these provinces : nearly 8 million hectares, or about 22 per cent. of all the landed property.

It should be noted that the return per hectare of the small properties is to-day still much inferior to that of the large. This difference is about 10-15 per cent. in the Kingdom of Poland ; in Lithuania and Ruthenia it is still greater. The sub-division of land has therefore lowered, clearly only for a time, the level of technical knowledge, and in consequence the production of the soil.

It should be noted by way of comparison that in France in 1912 the return per hectare was : wheat, 13.84 quintals ; rye, 11.05 ; oats, 12.94 ; barley, 14.49 ; potatoes, 96.09 ; sugar beets (in 1913), 283.03.

The accompanying table indicates the harvest of the principal products in 1912 in thousands of quintals :

| District | Rye | Wheat | Oats | Barley | Potatoes | Sugar Beets |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|---------------------|
| Kingdom of Poland .. | 24,134 | 6,702 | 11,729 | 6,401 | 111,929 | 17,119 |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia .. | 24,168 | 1,522 | 9,807 | 4,455 | 54,424 | — |
| South West Ruthenia .. | 16,489 | 15,488 | 12,255 | 6,655 | 23,311 | 75,591 ⁹ |
| Galicia .. | 8,617 | 7,637 | 7,026 | 3,770 | 53,881 | 1,499 |
| Duchy of Cieszyn .. | 219 | 61 | 319 | 75 | 1,581 | 55 |
| Poznania .. | 12,308 | 1,756 | 3,650 | 2,880 | 45,653 | 19,769 |
| West Prussia | 6,341 | 1,780 | 3,191 | 1,697 | 24,622 | 9,915 |
| Regency of Olsztyn .. | 2,557 | 229 | 863 | 387 | 9,491 | 27 |
| Upper Silesia | 3,373 | 1,251 | 2,856 | 1,270 | 19,798 | 5,032 |
| TOTALS .. | 98,206 | 36,426 | 51,696 | 27,590 | 344,690 | 129,007 |

⁹ This figure refers to 1911 ; in 1912 it was hardly 50,366. See " Statystyka Polski," pp. 148-9, Cracow, 1915.

Cattle breeding in Poland has also made considerable progress, especially in regard to the quality of domestic animals. Horse breeding is especially popular. The number of cattle, as well as of pigs, is also increasing rapidly. Sheep alone diminish in quantity year by year in all the Polish provinces, a fact which is completely explained, and justified, by the increasingly intensive cultivation of the soil. This is particularly striking in Poznań, where the progress of technical agriculture surpasses that of the other provinces. On the other hand, in Poznań, as well as in West Prussia, and especially in Upper Silesia, there are a very considerable number of goats.

The census of domestic animals in Galicia and in the Duchy of Cieszyn in 1910, in the Kingdom, Lithuania, White, and South West Ruthenia in 1912, and in Prussian Poland in 1913, gave the following results :

AGRICULTURE

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| Districts | HORSES | | CATTLE | | PIGS | | SHEEP | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|
| | Absolute No. in thousands | Per 100 inhabitants | Absolute No. in thousands | Per 100 inhabitants | Absolute No. in thousands | Per 100 inhabitants | Absolute No. in thousands | Per 100 inhabitants |
| Kingdom of Poland ¹⁰ .. | 1,234,6 | 9,5 | 2,210,9 | 17,0 | 587,6 | 5,6 | 838,2 | 6,4 |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia | 1,863,0 | 14,4 | 3,968,8 | 30,6 | 2,530,9 | 19,6 | 3,052,3 | 23,6 |
| South West Ruthenia .. | 1,768,4 | 13,9 | 2,297,9 | 19,0 | 1,723,5 | 13,6 | 1,842,8 | 14,5 |
| Galicia .. | 905,8 | 11,3 | 2,505,0 | 31,2 | 1,835,9 | 22,9 | 358 | 4,14 |
| Duchy of Cieszyn | 12 | 2,8 | 79 | 18,2 | 91 | 20,9 | 11 | 2,5 |
| Poznanian .. | 301 | 14,2 | 942 | 43,4 | 1,322 | 53,0 | 241,9 | 13,4 |
| West Prussia .. | 271 | 15,9 | 707 | 41,9 | 1,018 | 54,8 | 346,2 | 23,3 |
| Regency of Olaszyn .. | 124 | 22,5 | 2,291 | 53,6 | 357 | 52,2 | 88,0 | 18,8 |
| Upper Silesia .. | 125 | 5,6 | 515 | 22,7 | 516 | 19,4 | 18,8 | 0,9 |

¹⁰ The figures referring to the Kingdom, taken from the "Collection of statistical and economic data for agricultural industry in Russia, 1915" (Official) are lower than they should be, on account of the inexact statistics, which have fiscal objects also in view.

¹¹ In Prussian Poland the data relative to each 100 inhabitants refer to the year 1912. See "Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat, 1913."

Want of space does not allow of figures being given concerning the number of cattle in relation to area, which would enable us to realise still better the development of cattle breeding in the different provinces of Poland. Districts with a very dense population, such as Galicia, the Kingdom, and especially the two Silesias, would show a better condition of things than appears from our table.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Apart from natural conditions, determined by the character of the soil and the climate, politics and different economic conditions have also had a considerable influence upon the development of agriculture in each of the Polish provinces. However, it is not possible to present a synthetic view here because the economic policy of each of the co-partitioning States is strictly determined by international circumstances. (See **Commerce**.)

It is to this policy that the prodigious development of agriculture in the provinces annexed by Prussia is partly due. Poznań alone obtained in 1894—1906, in customs duties on the export of rye, wheat, barley and oats, an annual profit of approximately 11,240,000 francs, and one of 20,064,000 since 1906 after the increase of import duties, and the bounties granted upon exports. The same policy in Austria has contributed greatly to the improvement of Galician agriculture, especially since the increase in the customs duties on the products of the soil in 1906. Austria has thus chiefly favoured the great cereal producing agricultural enterprises.

The customs duties and the differential tariffs of the Russian railways have had, on the contrary, a disastrous influence upon agriculture in the Kingdom and Lithuania, which suffers from the formidable competition of the extensive agriculture of Russia. Cheap transport, especially for long distances, has caused Russian agricultural products to swamp the markets of the Kingdom, where a rapid increase in the importation of German rye has also taken place

during the last few years, thanks to the bounties on German exportation. A further factor hindering the development of agriculture in Russian Poland is the exceptional lack of communications. (See **Communications**.)

The general agricultural situation which is mainly the result of the commercial policy of the respective governing States is reflected faithfully in the price of agricultural products. Thus in the Kingdom of Poland, wheat was quoted in the period from 1890—1900 at 15fr.56 per quintal, in 1901—1905 at 11fr.90, in 1906—1910 at 18fr.60, in 1911 at 17fr.30. The price of rye also underwent considerable fluctuations; in 1906—1910 it stood at 14fr.30, in 1911 at 12fr.82, in 1913 at 13fr.79. The prices in Lithuania and Ruthenia are nearly the same as those in the Kingdom.¹² At Kiev in 1906-1910 the prices were: wheat, 19fr.90 the quintal; rye in 1909, 15fr.68; in 1911, 12fr.02. The Galician farmers in the period 1901—1903 could sell their wheat on the Vienna Exchange at 19fr.70 the quintal, and at 25fr.85 in 1906-1910. The average prices in Prussian Poland are dependent on the Berlin Exchange, where wheat in 1894 was quoted at 16fr.73 per metric quintal, 20fr.54 in 1901—1905, 25fr.71 in 1906—1910; rye, at the same dates, 14fr.51, 17fr.34, and 21fr.40.

The difference in prices between the Kingdom on the one side, and Galicia and Prussian Poland on the other, is enormous. In the period from 1906—1910 it amounted, for wheat, to over 7 francs a quintal, or 38 per cent.; for rye, it was 7fr.10, that is to say 50 per cent.

The farmers in the Kingdom, as well as in Lithuania and Ruthenia, have thus to struggle against formidable difficulties in order to make their labour even in some degree remunerative.

The rapid rise in the prices of meat and of dairy produce, which are to be noted in all the Polish provinces as well as

¹² In the three Lithuanian Governments the prices of wheat and rye are in general a little higher than in South West Ruthenia. Thus at Libau, a port of transit for the agricultural products of Lithuania, in 1906—1910 rye was priced at 15fr.99 a quintal, and at 14fr.65 at Odessa, the port of Central and Southern Russia. Wheat was quoted at Odessa during the same period at 18fr.92. See "**Collection of statistical and economic data concerning agricultural industry in Russia**," pp. 450 and 464. Petrograd, 1915.

elsewhere, has favoured the development of cattle breeding and, in consequence, the small properties which devote themselves especially to this work. The breeding of pedigree cattle, the control of the production of milk, and cattle breeding associations, also contribute greatly to progress in this sphere.

The rise in the price of land corresponds with that of agricultural products and with the value of the farms. However, an equally powerful factor in the rise in prices in Poland is the sub-division of large estates, and the desire among the peasants to acquire land at any cost. (See above, **Landed Property**.)

In the Kingdom of Poland the price of land has almost doubled in the space of 12 years. In 1900 one hectare acquired through the intermediary of the Peasants' Bank cost 388 francs; in 1912, 757 francs. The prices are still higher in sales effected without the participation of this Bank. In South West Ruthenia in 1909 a hectare was worth on an average 620 francs. In Poznań the Commission of Colonisation in 1912 paid on an average 1,615 francs; in West Prussia in 1911, 1,777. The average price per hectare paid by this Commission in Poznań in the period from 1886—1912 was 1,260 francs; in West Prussia 1,110 francs. The price of land in Galicia is higher than in the Kingdom, but lower than in Poznań. In addition to this rapid rise, one of the most striking features of these figures is the enormous difference between the market value of land in the different Polish provinces. The prices in Poznań are more than twice as high as those in the Kingdom. Apart from certain secondary factors, the main cause is the difference in cultivation and in the conditions under which agricultural products are sold.

It should further be added, in order to complete these summary data on economic conditions and the development of agriculture, that all the Polish provinces have begun to practise intensive culture with energy, and that agriculture is becoming more and more industrialised. Numerous sugar refineries, distilleries, dairies, give solid support to farming, and allow of a noteworthy exportation of sugar, alcohol, butter, etc. (See **Industry and Commerce**.)

AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

Over and above all these general economic conditions (prices, customs, tariffs, etc.), Agricultural Associations have had a special influence in promoting the development of agriculture in the provinces of Poland.

In the Kingdom, until 1897, the Russian Government did not permit even local associations with a commercial aim to be founded. It was only after this date that it was possible to form agricultural syndicates for the sale of the products of the soil, the purchase of machinery, chemical manures, etc. In 1909 there were seventeen syndicates in the Kingdom, with over 2,000 members.

A little later were founded several local associations for the improvement of agricultural technique, but until 1907 the Russian Government refused to authorise the formation of an agricultural association for the whole country. The Central Agricultural Association has in the last few years taken over the control of thirty-four local associations, with 4,000 members, and, in addition, a thousand agricultural circles with about 30,000 members. The Central Society is divided into several sections—cattle breeding, improvements, forest management, and others. It establishes experimental agencies, organises courses in agriculture, maintains schools and travelling instructors for the small proprietors; it publishes the *Agricultural Gazette*, the *Agricultural Circles Guide*, the *Year Book*, and other books and pamphlets for the spread of technical knowledge. This activity is all the more important, as the Kingdom suffers from an exceptional dearth of technical schools and from an almost complete lack of government help. It should be added that the organisation and activity of the central agricultural associations in Galicia and Poznanian are, in the main, similar to those in the Kingdom. In addition to these associations there exist in the Kingdom nearly 200 agricultural associations of small proprietors called *The Circles of Staszic*.¹³ There should also be mentioned the "Association for the Improvement of Landed Property," Co-operative Associations for production and sale, the Dairy Society, the Mutual Fire Insurance

¹³ A Polish philanthropist at the beginning of the 19th century.

Association ("Snop" = the Sheaf), Insurance against Hail ("Ceres"), and Cattle Insurance.

In Galicia an Agricultural Association at Lwów (Leopolis) was founded in 1845 by Prince Leo Sapieha, an eminent Polish patriot; the same year a similar association was formed at Cracow for the Western part of the country, and in 1861 the "Association of Mutual Insurance" at Cracow. In 1882, Fr. Stojalowski founded the "Association of Agricultural Circles," which has recently included numerous peasant associations, with a total of about 78,400 members. In Galicia a great number of co-operative societies devote themselves to the sale and purchase of agricultural articles and products.

Agricultural associations have reached the highest development in Prussian Poland, especially in Poznań. There the great Polish landowners have formed the "Central Economic Association" at Poznań, founded in 1861, which possessed in 1910 fourteen branch associations, with 750 members. The first agricultural circle was founded in Poznań in 1866; nevertheless it was not till 1873 that the Association movement made much progress among the small proprietors, but after that year a great agricultural advance was made, thanks to the help of the "Central Economic Association," and to the intelligent and devoted organization of Maximilian Jackowski, the leading spirit of these circles from 1873 to 1901. By 1913 there were 388 Polish Agricultural Circles, together forming the "Union," with 15,800 members. In West Prussia in 1914 there were 117 Polish agricultural circles, with 6,772 members.

In addition to the agricultural circles, which are first and foremost a sort of technical school for the peasants, there are also in Poznań numerous co-operative societies for the purchase and sale of various products. These Polish associations (the German Associations are quite distinct) are called "Rolniki" ("Husbandmen"). The first was founded in 1901, and in 1912 they numbered 56, with 8,126 members, for the most part peasants. In 1911-12 the "Husbandmen" sold a million quintals of coal, 1.8 million quintals of chemical manures, 2.5 million quintals of cereals, etc.

Mention should also be made of the co-operative societies for land division (24 in 1912), whose business it is to parcel out the great estates and offer them for sale to Polish peasants, and to assist the peasants in cases where the land is excessively burdened with debt. (For Popular Banks, see **Credit.**)

This brief review of agricultural associations in Poland is sufficient to show that, in spite of certain obstacles put in their way by governments, they have been able to develop rapidly. Polish agricultural associations, especially those of Poznań, might even serve as an example and a model to other countries. It is due especially to their intense and varied activity that agriculture, in all the districts of Poland, has made the remarkable progress which has been noted.

CHAPTER II

MINERAL WEALTH AND MINES

THE territory of Poland is especially favoured by nature in regard to mineral wealth. Her coal and petroleum, her iron and zinc ore, her salt, not to mention other less important products, could serve as sources of energy or as raw materials for a vast development of industry. These mineral deposits are principally found in the plateau of Lesser Poland (district of Cracow), at present divided politically into three parts.

COAL

This essential element of all industrial development abounds in Poland. According to the most recent estimates, the Silesian-Polish basin, also called the Cracow-Silesian Basin, contains 94.33 milliards of tons of exploitable coal, and its area covers 5,690 sq. km.¹

The coal producing area is sub-divided as follows :—

| | Area | Output |
|---|---------------|---------------------------|
| Prussian Silesia | 3,025 sq. km. | 53 % 57.82 milliards |
| Galicia, Austrian Silesia and Moravia | 2,225 „ „ | 39 % 32.17 „ ² |
| Kingdom of Poland .. | 440 „ „ | 8 % 4.34 „ |

In no other part of the world up till now have deposits of good coal, so rich and regularly disposed, been discovered.

¹ These estimates, necessarily approximate, made by an eminent specialist, Gaebler, differ a little from those of other geologists. See "Ekonomista," 1912, III. E. Gaspari.

² Galicia alone, nearly 25 milliard tons.

The thickness of the strata is very considerable, and often reaches six to ten metres: moreover, they are generally found at only a little depth below the surface—an important point. This coal is of good quality, and produces little ash (the coal of Upper Silesia only 3.5 per cent.). However, it is only the coal from Upper Silesia and Cieszyn which can be transformed into coke: going from South to North and from West to East, this characteristic diminishes, and disappears altogether in Galicia and in the Kingdom of Poland.

The Polono-Silesian coal basin has been worked for over a century. From 1790 to 1799, 115,500 tons were extracted in Upper Silesia; in the Dabrow basin: 8,000 tons. After the year 1820 the output became more rapid, but its great development did not take place until the construction of railways towards the middle of the 19th century.

In 1870 5,854,400 tons were extracted in Upper Silesia; 330,785 tons in the district of Dabrowa; 197,560 tons in Galicia.

In the last 40 years, the output of coal has increased about 17 times in the Kingdom of Poland (for the year 1912 alone it increased 9.44 per cent., and amounted to 6,315,430 tons); in Upper Silesia 6 times; in Galicia 8.

PRODUCTION OF COAL IN 1911, IN THE DIFFERENT BASINS

| DISTRICT | OUTPUT |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Upper Silesia | 36,622,969 tons |
| Ostrawa-Karwin (Austrian Silesia) ... | 8,073,713 „ |
| Cracow (Galicia) | 1,653,724 „ |
| Dabrowa (Kingdom of Poland) | 5,769,928 „ |
| <hr/> | |
| TOTAL, | 52,120,334 tons |

By way of comparison, it should be noted that the whole output of coal (coal and lignite) in Germany, including Upper Silesia, in 1912 was 255,000,000 tons; in France, 41,000,000 tons.

Mining Technique has considerably improved in the last few decades. The basin of Dabrowa, formerly very backward in this respect, is to-day almost on the same level as Upper Silesia.

In 1910, in Upper Silesia, steam engines represented a force of 307,624 horse-power; those in the basin of Dabrowa 42,317 h.p.; electric motors represented a force of 149,416 h.p. in the former district, and of 21,944 h.p. in the latter. In the Cracow basin mechanical force amounts only to 11,955 h.p. The average output of a miner in Upper Silesia in 1910 was 292 tons (the following year 310 tons); the total number of miners was about 120,000. At Dabrowa the output per man was 233 tons; in Galicia in 1913, 282 tons.

Concentration of capital is pushed very far in the mining industry of the Polono-Silesian basin. The mines of Upper Silesia belong to 23 proprietors (companies). In the basin of Dabrowa, the production of nine share-holding companies represents 86 per cent. of the total production. There are only eight enterprises working in Galicia.

Foreign capital, especially German, predominates in the greater number of enterprises in the Polono-Silesian basin. Labour and the professional element, to a large extent, are Polish. The financial position of these mines is on the whole brilliant: in the last few years, from 1907 onwards, in the Dabrowa basin, the companies paid their shareholders an average dividend of 10.45 to 12.60 per cent. (in 1912). The output of coal in the Kingdom and in Galicia does not suffice at present for the needs of the country. Thus Upper Silesia furnishes coal, not only to the neighbouring Poznań, to West Prussia and Berlin, but also to Polish districts outside its political frontiers. In spite of the relatively high customs duties (1.61 francs a ton), the Kingdom in 1910 imported from Upper Silesia about 1,000,000 tons of coal, or more than 18 per cent. of the production of the Dabrowa basin. Galicia received the same year (1910) 1,500,000 tons of Silesian coal. This latter importation was, moreover, favoured by the railway tariffs, to the prejudice of local production.³ Galicia imports also a certain quantity of coal from the Kingdom. The Kingdom exports its coal to Lithuania and Ruthenia and into the

³ Until 1909 the cost of carriage of a wagon of coal from Mysłowice in Prussian Silesia to Lwów (Leopolis) was 101.50 francs, and from Siersza in Galicia, 105.30 francs. The production of coal in Galicia has thus been obstructed by the intrigues of German capitalists in Upper Silesia.

eastern districts of the Russian Empire generally (561,834 tons in 1913). Thus the territories of the ancient Republic of Poland mutually complete each other.

Lignite. It is necessary also to mention the production of lignite. This is found in Poznania, West Prussia, the Kingdom, Galicia and Ruthenia. In Galicia the exploitation of this combustible tends to diminish. In 1902 it yielded 79,031 tons, whereas in 1911 it yielded only 30,144. In the Kingdom seven mines in 1910 furnished 121,966 tons. In the same year the extraction of lignite in Poznania and in West Prussia amounted to 30,300 tons.

PETROLEUM

The production of petroleum in Poland is, likewise, of great importance. This product is found in abundance in Galicia, in a wide strip of territory on the northern side of the Carpathians, from the River Raba as far as the Czeremosz, 365 km. in length. According to calculations which are already out of date, the petroliferous lands cover 8,000 hectares, and contain at least 470 million quintals of naphtha. The centres of this industry have changed several times. The most important to-day are Boryslaw and Tustanowice. The raw petroleum of Boryslaw contains about 45 per cent. of lamp petroleum, 50 per cent. benzine, 5 per cent. paraffin, 10 per cent. fat oils, 5 per cent. asphalt, 15 per cent. gaseous oils, 3 per cent. coke. The rest is waste product. Its caloric value is 10,770 calories (coal of good quality has only 5,000 to 6,000). The working of petroleum dates only from the second half of the 19th century, after the discovery in Galicia in 1853 (by Lukaszewicz and Zeb) and in America in 1854 (by Silliman) of a process of distillation of lamp petroleum. But it is since 1870, above all, that a great development has taken place. The output of Galicia amounted in 1885 to 650,000 quintals (0.85 per cent. of the output of the world); in 1900 to 3,472,000 quintals (1.18 per cent.); in 1909 to 20,863,415 quintals (5.5 per cent.); in 1910 to 17,660,178 quintals, with a value of 46,271,914 francs.

In 1910 there were 334 enterprises working with 5,449 workmen. The concentration of capital is small, a deplor-

able fact considering the special risks inherent in the petroleum industry. Only enterprises based on the exploitation of a great number of wells can succeed, for the exceptional profits on a productive boring can alone compensate the losses sustained on unproductive borings.

The technique of the petroleum industry in Galicia is highly developed. The Galician borer is in demand in every country, and it is Galicia that supplies a number of instruments for well-driving. The depth of a well often reaches 1,200 to 1,500 metres. As there are no infallible indications of the presence of petroleum in any given piece of land, its exploitation is most hazardous, and the output undergoes enormous fluctuations. That is why prices are also very unstable.

Towards 1880 the price of a quintal of raw petroleum increased from 21 francs to 31 francs. In 1910 a quintal of the same petroleum was worth 5.97 francs; in 1902, 2.96 francs; in 1907, 2.33 francs; in 1908, the year of a terrible crisis in this industry, 1.26 francs (it sank as low as 52 cent. in the course of the year); in 1911 it rose to 3.32 francs, and in 1913 to 10.50 francs. The petroleum refineries trust, whose operations have been highly successful, has, none the less, contributed to the difficult position of the producers of raw petroleum. In 1908 the Union of Petroleum Producers was founded; since then numerous reservoirs have been constructed, and the introduction of petroleum in the locomotives on the State railways has sensibly improved the conditions of the petroleum industry.

The Galician output meets not only the needs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but even allows of a considerable exportation of petroleum (in 1908 2,400,000 quintals).

In addition to petroleum, there is also found in Galicia (a thing unique in Europe) ozokerit, or "mineral wax," a product akin to petroleum. In 1910, 21,707 quintals were obtained, with a value of 3,069,747 francs. The number of workmen employed in the seven mines now working is 1,313.

SALT

Rock-salt is one of the minerals which have always been an important source of wealth in Poland. It is found in two districts: on the northern slopes of the Carpathians

where, since the 12th century, it has been energetically exploited; and to the north-west, in the northern basin of Prussian Poland. In addition to the two government mines of Wieliczka and Bochnia, not far from Cracow, there are also nine salt mines in the eastern part of Galicia. Wieliczka is one of the greatest mines in the world (about 5 sq. km.). It belonged formerly to the Crown of Poland; to-day it is, as are all the other salt-mines in Galicia, the property of the Austrian Government. This mine has been estimated to contain approximately 21,000,000 tons of salt. The mines of Bochnia, Kalusz and Stebnik are of less importance. The others are even smaller. Wieliczka in 1907 produced 1,102,600 quintals (one-fifth for human consumption, and the rest for cattle), that is to say, 60 per cent. of the total output of Galicia.

The salt-refineries of Eastern Galicia produce almost exclusively cooking salt. The total output of the Galician salt mines in 1895 was 1,295,000 quintals, with a value of 17,745,000 francs; in 1911, 1,412,151 quintals, with a value of 18,948,120 francs. The share of Galicia in the production of salt in Austria is 41.2 per cent. of the whole, and the number of workmen in 1911 was 3,403. In the last few years the output has undergone considerable fluctuations. At present the condition of the Galician salt-mines leaves much to be desired from the technical point of view; the machinery in use there is thirty to fifty years old. The financial administration is deplorably careless, and does not consider the actual requirements of the salt industry. It should be noted that this exploitation is the monopoly of the Austrian State.

Outside Galicia, salt is obtained in the suburbs of Inowroclaw (Hohensalza), in Poznan (since 1870), and in the neighbouring districts of the Kingdom of Poland. The output at Inowroclaw in 1905—1906 amounted to 557,130 quintals of rock salt, and 255,560 quintals of refined salt; it was a little smaller in other years. In the Kingdom of Poland the salt refineries of Ciechocinek are not rich; they produced 30,070 quintals in 1909. The Kingdom imports salt from Russia, although, if the salt wealth of Galicia were better exploited, and if political conditions were more favourable, this province could not only easily supply

enough for its own consumption and for that of the countries bordering the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but also for that of the Kingdom. Moreover it could become the base for the development of several branches of the chemical industry. The production of ordinary salt in Polish territories is, thus, as follows :—

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------|
| Galicia | ... | ... | ... | 1,412,151 quintals |
| Poznania | ... | ... | ... | 812,690 „ |
| Kingdom of Poland | ... | ... | ... | 30,070 „ |
| TOTAL, | | | | <u>2,254,911 quintals</u> |

In addition to ordinary salt, Galicia also possesses at Kalusz mines of potassium salt, which are the only ones known in the world, with the exception of those at Staasfurt in Germany. The importance of this product as an artificial manure is well known. The salts of Kalusz are composed chiefly of kainite and sylvine. The production of kainite in 1893 amounted to 40,000 quintals, in 1911 to 172,000 quintals (value of the latter output : 234,780 francs). As its working is also in the hands of the Austrian Government it is not carried on with the requisite competence. In 1913, the autonomous Government of Galicia obtained authorisation to exploit these salts (and at the same time rock-salt in certain districts), and there is reason to hope that these enterprises will be crowned with success. A share-holding company, with a capital of 6,300,000 francs, of which half was subscribed by the autonomous Government, is about to undertake the exploitation of this interesting industry.

IRON ORE

The territories of Poland are not so rich in iron as in coal, petroleum, and salt. In Upper Silesia a brown ore is found, not very rich in iron (30 to 35 per cent.); the extraction, also, is decreasing every year : in 1900 it was 406,839 tons ; in 1910, 233,800 tons (1,477 men employed). Silesia is thus obliged to import an immense quantity of iron from Sweden, Hungary, Russia, and Spain.

Galicia possesses little iron. In 1910 the extraction of

this ore amounted to 4,175 tons. In 1913 there was only one mine working, with 130 workmen, producing 18,800 tons of iron ore, worth 174,300 francs, representing 0.16 per cent. of the output of Austria. Investigations made during the last few years have established the existence in Galicia of four varieties of iron ore, containing 21 to 51 per cent. of iron. Considering the progress in the technique of smelting, these ores, even the least valuable, can be exploited with profit, and assure the Galician deposits a prosperous future.

In the Kingdom of Poland iron is found in four districts in the south-west. But this ore contains only 21 to 37 per cent. of iron. Polish enterprises have also to face the formidable competition of the excellent ores of Southern Russia. The importation of the ore of Krywoi-Rog increases continually, to such an extent that in 1911 the metallurgical factories of the Kingdom used 385,667 tons of it, whereas they worked only 257,325 tons of the ore in the country (in 1912 294,036 tons). There were in 1910 in the Kingdom 29 iron mines with 1,824 workmen, and an output of 173,468 tons, valued at 1,621,108 fr.; in 1911 the output was 258,000 tons.

The output of iron ore in the three provinces of Poland is as follows :—

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|--------------|
| Upper Silesia (1910) | ... | ... | 233,800 tons |
| Kingdom of Poland (1911) | ... | ... | 258,000 „ |
| Galicia (1913) | ... | ... | 18,800 „ |
| Total | | | 510,600 tons |

ZINC ORE AND LEAD

Zinc ore is extremely abundant in Poland. It is found in the form of calamine or blende, especially in Upper Silesia, which, formerly, was the principal producer of zinc of the entire world. It is also found in considerable quantities in the Kingdom of Poland, in the neighbourhood of Olkusz, as well as in the south-west of Galicia. These ores contain 28 to 48 per cent. of pure zinc.

The working of zinc dates from the 16th century, but it

did not become regular or continuous till the beginning of the 19th century.

In 1910, the extraction of zinc ore in Upper Silesia amounted to 591,100 tons. At present the importation from abroad into Upper Silesia amounts to about 70,000 tons of zinc ore, or about 14 per cent. of the total consumption.

In Galicia three enterprises have been devoted in the last few years to zinc mining, with an average total of 47 workmen from 1902 to 1911. The output has been rather variable; on an average it amounted annually to 26,068 quintals (8.23 per cent. of the total output of Austria), with a value of 109,205 fr. In 1913 it amounted to 15,000 quintals.

In the Kingdom of Poland in 1910 there existed 3 zinc mines, employing 1,543 workmen, with an output valued at 1,276,876 fr. 105,098 tons were obtained of calamine, pure, or mixed with lead. The Kingdom is the principal producer of zinc in the Russian Empire.

In Silesia, in the Kingdom, and in Galicia, zinc ores are often accompanied by lead (galene), containing 70 per cent. of lead, pure or slightly argentiferous. The lead industry dates back to the 12th or 13th century. In 1909 the output of lead ore in Silesia amounted to 58,568 tons; in Galicia (1910) to 5,859 tons (25.7 per cent. of the Austrian output), with a value of 793,741 fr. In Galicia there was only one mine; it employed 595 workmen.

OTHER NATURAL SOURCES OF WEALTH

In the Kingdom (Mountains of Kielce) and in Spisz (see **Country and Inhabitants**) are found copper ores. The copper mining industry, which formerly flourished in the Kingdom, has been completely abandoned. It could, however, be taken up anew and even prosper, especially in the Government of Kielce.

In the Kingdom (Czarkowy on the Nida) sulphur mines are worked. (In 1901: 18,200 tons of ore). Phosforites are also found in several parts of Poland. Their output amounts to 20 to 25 thousand tons annually: they are transformed into super-phosphates.

Besides this mineral wealth, Poland possesses excellent

building materials—stone, chalk, and marble. Brick clay, and kaolin are also abundant.

Among the natural factors, of great importance to the prosperity of the country, must also be noted the water courses which, especially in Galicia, have a pronounced incline and form gigantic and cheap sources of energy. By utilising the tributaries of the Vistula, Dniester, and Prut, a permanent force of 500,000 horse-power could be easily obtained in Galicia, three-fifths of which could be provided by the tributaries of the Vistula. According to the most recent calculations, the hydraulic force that could be utilised in the whole province amounts to 894,000 h.p. So far only about 35,000 h.p. is used.

Lastly, the vast forest stretches in Lithuania and Galicia could give a considerable impetus to certain branches of industry (wood, paper, acetates, etc.).

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRY

THE wealth of a country in coal and iron is the fundamental condition of its industrial development and of its economic independence. Poland possesses these raw materials, especially coal, in great abundance. If we add immense resources in petroleum and salt—petroleum, a source of energy rivaling coal; salt, an all-important element in the chemical industry—we have those essential natural factors which, under proper conditions, should assure Polish territories a splendid industrial future. However, the different Polish provinces are not equally endowed with these sources of wealth, and as they are subjected to different economic conditions in each of the co-partitioning States, they have developed quite differently, and the state of industry in each province is far from being uniform.¹

KINGDOM OF POLAND

The industry of the Kingdom in its present form began to develop in the early part of the 19th century, but capitalism and machinery did not attain their present proportions until 1870—1880. The personal emancipation of the peasants in 1807 enabled manufacturers to recruit them for the army of wage-earners. The very wise political economy of the Duchy of Warsaw and of the Kingdom of Poland, the intelligent activity of the Minister, Prince Lubecki, brought into existence a series of industrial enterprises, some of which still survive. As further causes of this development should be mentioned the decrees (1816—1823) which granted certain privileges to foreign artisans and manufacturers who settled in Poland. About 10,000 families settled in the Kingdom between 1818—1837. A great

¹ In the general considerations of this chapter, the extractive industries will also be referred to. They have been treated in more detail above. (See **Mineral Wealth** and **Mines**.)

impulse was also given to industry by the foundation of the Bank of Poland in 1828.

The construction of the Warsaw-Vienna Railway (1848), and the suppression of the customs barrier between the Kingdom and Russia (1850), did not fail to exercise a stimulating influence, but it was not till the year 1877 that the industry of the Kingdom began to progress with giant strides—owing especially to the Customs policy of the Russian Empire and to the construction of the principal railway lines of the country. (See **Commerce and Communications.**)

Various associations also contributed their share to the industrial development of the Kingdom. Mention should be made in the first place of the "Society for the Encouragement of Industry and Commerce," founded at Warsaw in 1886. Its various sections, technical, agricultural, commercial, mining, co-operative, that of crafts, etc., did their best to fulfil the functions assumed later by special associations, the foundation of which at that time was not permitted. In 1910 was founded the "Society of Industrials for the Kingdom of Poland," with the object of representing and defending the industrial interests of the country. In 1914 the number of firms belonging to it amounted to 329, representing all branches of industry in the Kingdom, and 120,000 workmen. Mention should also be made of the "Popular Industry Association"; "The Technical Society" and the "Museum of Industry and Agriculture" (founded in 1875); "The Committee of Exchange" at Warsaw, and that at Lodz, also show a certain activity in the industrial interests of the country. The "Society for the Development of Industry, Crafts, and Commerce" was founded in 1912, with the special object of aiding the smaller Polish manufacturers and merchants.

The truly prodigious development of industry in the Kingdom of Poland is shown in the small comparative table, which also shows in a clear way the concentration of capital in industrial enterprises :

| Year | | | Factories | Workmen | Value of Production in Francs |
|------|----|----|-----------|---------|----------------------------------|
| 1877 | .. | .. | 8,349 | 90,767 | 274,022,000 |
| 1895 | .. | .. | 12,987 | 205,827 | 738,291,000 |
| 1910 | .. | .. | 10,953 | 400,922 | 2,279,392,000 |

In the course of 33 years, the value of the industrial production of the Kingdom has risen 732 per cent., the number of workmen 341 per cent., whereas the number of enterprises has increased only 31 per cent.

Nearly the whole of the industry of the Kingdom is concentrated in the West, more particularly in the government of Piotrkow (Lodz, Czenstochowa, Dabrowa, Sosnowiec) and in the government of Warsaw. The first of these two governments contributes 50 per cent. of the total value of the output, and employs 52 per cent. of the workmen in the Kingdom ; the second contributes 33.6 per cent. of the output and employs 29.3 per cent. of the workmen.

The majority of factories employ under 50 workmen. This group includes over two-thirds of all the industrial establishments. Factories employing from 501 to 1,000 workmen form 2 per cent.; those employing over 1,000, 1 per cent.

The factories which employ on an average the greatest number of workmen (855 per factory) are those of the linen, hemp, and jute industries; next comes the cotton industry with 499 workmen per factory.

The accompanying table takes into consideration the value of the output of each branch of industry in 1910 :

| Industries of the Kingdom | Value of the Output in Francs. | Workmen | Factories |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| Textile Industry .. | 904,400,000 | 150,305 | 1,166 |
| Alimentary „ .. | 409,900,000 | 42,458 | 3,032 |
| Metal „ .. | 292,300,000 | 62,027 | 1,510 |
| Mines and Foundries .. | 159,500,000 | 45,697 | 479 |
| Apparel „ .. | 126,900,000 | 25,438 | 1,918 |
| Mineral and Ceramic Industries | 80,600,000 | 23,075 | 520 |
| Chemical Industry .. | 79,000,000 | 9,153 | 264 |
| Animal Produce .. | 77,900,000 | 7,034 | 284 |
| Paper, Printing, etc. .. | 68,100,000 | 15,402 | 672 |
| Timber „ .. | 61,500,000 | 17,259 | 879 |
| Miscellaneous | 19,100,000 | 3,074 | 229 |
| | 2,279,200,000 | 400,922 | 10,953 |

The state of the iron industry is one of the most important tests of the economic development and industrial independence of a country. The Kingdom has already made considerable progress in this sphere.

The output of pig-iron amounted in 1912 to 3,922,191 quintals; and, in 1913, to 4,183,616 quintals of blocks of steel, cast-iron pipes, etc., in 1913 to 6,298,600 quintals.

The output of rails, sheet-iron, worked-iron, steel work, in the same year was 4,667,153 quintals; of drain pipes and diverse worked products 845,372 quintals. Since 1860 the production of cast-iron in the Kingdom has increased seventeen fold. In 1911 the output in the Kingdom amounted to 0.28 quintals per inhabitant; in the fifty governments of Russia in Europe it amounted to the same figure; (in Germany to 2.44). It must be noted that the iron industry in the Kingdom encounters one serious difficulty: it is obliged to pay onerous customs duties on the importation of coke, which the coal fields of the Dabrowa basin do not produce. As has already been stated, the iron industry of the country employs principally iron ore imported from the district of Donetz. (See **Mineral Wealth and Mines.**)

In the last few years there were in the Kingdom more than 30 metallurgical iron factories possessing about 30 blast-furnaces, 40 puddling furnaces, 33-40 Martin furnaces, etc. The total number of workmen employed amounted to 15,880 (1911), and the value of the annual output to 75,895,000 francs. The formation of the Syndicate of Metallurgical Factories of the Kingdom (1909), and its subsequent union with the General Russian Syndicate "Prodameta," have had the most beneficial effect upon the iron industry. Thus the last three years have given excellent financial results: in 1910, the profits were 11.09 per cent.; in 1911, 18.54 per cent.; in 1912, 21.99 per cent. The dividends paid were, in these three years, 6.85 per cent., 8.42 per cent., and 11.66 per cent.

The production of zinc in the Kingdom of Poland is concentrated in two Governments: the Government of Kielce contributes the ore, and in the Government of Piotrkow the metal is extracted. The three foundries existing in 1910 produced 86,306 quintals of zinc; they employed 754 work-

men, and the value of their output amounted to 6,119,528 francs. The output of zinc in the Kingdom constitutes 80 per cent. of that of the whole Empire.

The iron industry is closely connected with the other metal industries. In the Kingdom in 1910 the latter employed 62,027 workmen in 1,510 factories, the total output of which was valued at 292,297,650 fr.

In comparison with the year 1901—1902, the value of the output and the number of workmen have doubled. In this industry, in respect of value, the first place is held by the manufacture of machines, boilers, materials for the construction of bridges (94,962,750 fr.); second come the iron foundries; third, the manufacture of nails, wire, and sheet-iron. The Government of Warsaw, and especially the city of Warsaw, is the most important centre of the metal industry in the Kingdom, owing to its manufacture of machines, weighing machines, and various utensils, also to its factories for electric appliances, its lock factories, etc. This industry is in close connection with that of Russia and of the whole world; and is affiliated, in its different branches, to corresponding syndicates.

The Textile Industry is the most highly developed in the Kingdom. In 1910 it comprised 1,166 factories with an output of 904,354,900 francs (39 per cent. of the total value of the industrial output of the Kingdom) and 150,305 workmen. From 1901—1902 to 1910, that is to say, in the course of eight years, the number of factories increased 87 per cent., the amount of the output 65 per cent., the number of workmen 24 per cent. The Government of Piotrkow occupies the first place in regard to value of output (86 per cent. of the value of the textile production of the Kingdom), and possesses the principal centres of this industry. The second place belongs to the Government of Warsaw.

It is well to distinguish, in considering the Textile Industry of the Kingdom, the cotton, wool, silk, linen, hemp and jute industries, and mixed industries. The value of the output of the cotton industry constitutes a little over half the total value of the textile production of the Kingdom. Next come woollen goods (about three-quarters of the value of the output of the fifty Governments of

European Russia). The other products of the textile industry are of less importance.

The great cotton industry possesses fifty factories, with 67,199 workmen, and an output valued at 358,126,300 francs. The woollen industry has 118 factories, 41,093 workmen, and an output valued at 308,036,000 francs. The technique of these two industries is, in general, up to the highest standard of modern progress; nevertheless, their conditions of development are less favourable than elsewhere. In the first place they are obliged to pay a very heavy price for raw material. Further, the Russian Government regards them with a jealous eye (it is true that they are for the most part worked by German capital), and has established very high tariffs for the transport of fuel from the Dabrowa basin, in order to put the industry at Lodz under conditions similar to those which prevail in the region of Moscow. It is owing to the greater productiveness of Polish labour, as also to the more temperate climate which allows factories to be constructed at less cost, that the textile industry of the Kingdom is able to compete with that of Moscow.

The food industry, although closely connected with agriculture, constitutes a separate and special branch of industry in general. The value of its output in 1910 was 409,900,000 francs with 42,458 workmen employed in 3,032 factories. During a period of eight years, 1901-1902 to 1910, its output doubled and the number of workmen increased by $1\frac{1}{2}$. The sugar industry holds the first place. The number of sugar factories in the Kingdom was 51 in 1912-1913 with an output of 1,452,913 quintals of raw sugar, and 1,088,134 quintals of refined sugar.

The Government of Warsaw possesses 18 sugar factories, that of Lublin 13, that of Plock 7. The Kingdom occupies the third place in the Empire in regard to sugar production. From 1901-1902 to 1909-1910, although the number of factories remained the same, the output increased 84 per cent., amounting to 172,250,000 francs.; the number of workmen 25.7 per cent. (21,016). This fact shows the progress in technique and the greater productiveness of labour. In 1910-1911 the thirteen principal share-holding companies

realised a net profit of 16.8 per cent. and paid a dividend of 9.6 per cent. In 1909—1910, after supplying the ever-increasing consumption of the country (it has increased 32 per cent. in five years), the sugar factories of the Kingdom have been able to export 690,000 quintals of sugar. The prohibition against the transport of sugar, as well as that of flour and meal, along the Vistula, which forces manufacturers to submit to the onerous railway tariffs, puts obstacles in the way of the export of these articles, which is directed in general to Finland, Petrograd, and England.

In the Kingdom in 1912—1913 there existed 495 alcohol distilleries (of which 441 were agricultural) producing 1,768,300 hectares of alcohol at 40°. In 1910 the value of the output of this industry amounted to 32,615,498 francs and it employed 3,546 workmen. In the last ten years the output has increased 101 per cent. It is highest in the Government of Lublin, next in the Governments of Warsaw and Siedlce. The population of the Kingdom in 1900—1901 consumed 50 per cent. of its output of alcohol; in 1910—1911 33.65 per cent., which represents per head 529 litres of alcohol at 40° (6.89 litres in the Empire).

The value of the output of the breweries amounted in 1912 to 34,450,000 francs.

The mills produced in 1908, 9,398,680 quintals of flour.

In regard to apparel; to the mineral industry (glass, brick, chalk and cement factories); to the animal produce industry (tanneries, brush factories, etc.); to that of wood (saw-mills, carpentry, and cabinet-making, etc.); to the paper and graphic industry, we shall confine ourselves to the figures given in the table at the head of this chapter. As for the chemical industry, in spite of the duties on imported raw materials, among others on salt and coke, it has greatly developed in the course of the last few years. The amount of its output since 1901—1902 has more than doubled, and it numbers $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many workmen.

In default of recent data concerning artisans and the domestic industry of the Kingdom, we must confine ourselves to figures which are very approximate and already

out of date. In 1880, the production of the artisans of the country was valued at 174,900,000 francs (that of the industrial production properly so-called was, at the same date, 454,245,800 francs). Nearly half this sum (82,150,000 francs) came from the city of Warsaw. In 1894, this city contained 55,000 artisans, the value of whose output was 151,050,000 francs. In the country as a whole, in the same year, the number of workmen was about 140,000, with an output valued at 300,000,000 to 315,000,000 francs. The figures are very nearly the same for 1897. By comparing the value of this output with that of the industrial output properly so-called it will be seen that it is only about a quarter of the latter, whereas the number of artisans is nearly half that of the workmen employed in factories. At Warsaw in 1894, as regards the value of production, butchers came first (21,995,000 francs), next bakers, boot and shoe makers, pork butchers, masons, tailors, etc.

The old law of 1816 still regulates the mutual obligations and relations of masters, associates, and apprentices. Ignorance, want of technical schools (see **Education**), insufficient commercial organisation, and lastly the formidable competition of large industries, have caused a certain stagnation in the crafts of the Kingdom. Nevertheless, marked progress has made itself felt in the last few years in this domain, thanks above all to the organisation of co-operative societies of every kind.

Home industries exist in the towns and villages of the Kingdom. In the towns it is carried on chiefly round the great industrial centres, whereas rural home industry is scattered everywhere throughout the country. Some progress has been made in weaving and in basket work (in the neighbourhood of Bilgoraj, the value of hand basket work amounted to 795,000 francs); in the making of weather board and barrels and in the manufacture of tiles. The number of persons occupied in home industries in the Kingdom, a few years ago, amounted to about 25,000. In 1910-1912 the total value of industrial production in general in the Kingdom (large industries, crafts, and home industries), may be approximately estimated at three milliards of francs.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

These two provinces, especially the six northern Governments, are far from having attained the same industrial development as the Kingdom. To be convinced of this, it is necessary only to cast a glance at the statistics concerning the occupations of the population (see page 128). These regions, destitute of the natural resources necessary for the mining or metallurgic industry, are, for that very reason, weak in their industrial development.

In the six northern Governments, that is to say, in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, there is an industrial life of some importance at Bialystok, on the frontier of the Kingdom, and also at Wilno and Minsk. On the whole, the governments of Grodno, Wilno, and Minsk are comparatively much more industrial than the three other governments—Kowno, Witebsk, and Mohylow.

Industry in all these districts shows a very small concentration of capital. In 1912, out of a total of 1,424 industrial establishments under factory inspection (that is to say, having more than 16-20 workmen, or employing mechanical motive power), there were only four which employed over 1,000 workmen (in all 5,111), and only 100 with over 100 workmen. As against this, there were 1,185 industrial enterprises employing under 50 workmen.

The accompanying table shows the development of different branches of industry in Lithuania and White Ruthenia.

The Food or Alimentary industry holds the first place as regards the value of its output, owing partly to the agrarian character of these countries. The distillation of alcohol is here of special importance. The number of distilleries in 1912-13 was 648, of which 223 are in the three Lithuanian Governments.² The amount of alcohol produced in the two countries (six governments) in 1912-13 was 1,151,000 hectolitres at 40°.

² Evidently the industrial statistics of 1912 (see table) do not include all the distilleries.

| Industries in Lithuania and White Ruthenia | Value of the Output in 1908 in Francs. | Workmen | | Factories (1912) |
|---|---|------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | | Actual Number | Per Cent. | |
| Alimentary Industry .. | 125,179,950 | 6,950 | 11·3 | 301 |
| Textile .. | 37,434,600 | 13,523 | 22·4 | 304 |
| Animal Produce .. | 25,170,600 | 4,886 | 8·0 | 155 |
| Paper, Printing, etc. .. | 19,421,850 | 6,315 | 10·2 | 123 |
| Timber .. | 19,197,150 | 9,695 | 15·7 | 283 |
| Metal .. | 18,591,200 | 6,817 | 11·2 | 84 |
| Mineral .. | 10,110,450 | 9,215 | 15·1 | 134 |
| Chemical .. | 7,619,850 | 3,432 | 5·7 | 50 |
| Miscellaneous .. | 1,096,200 | 192 | 0·4 | 10 |
| | 263,821,950 | 61,025 | 100·0 | 1,424 |

The Textile Industry is also comparatively well developed; and in regard to the number of workmen employed it comes at the head of the whole industrial production of the country. Out of the total number (13,523) of workmen in this branch, 9,439 are employed in the 263 woollen factories, and 1,788 in the linen, hemp, and jute factories. Silk, and even cotton, are of little importance. The most important centre of the textile industry is Bialystok in the government of Grodno, on the borders of the Kingdom of Poland.

Tanneries are fairly well represented in the neighbourhood of Wilno: factories of animal produce are also numerous in the Government of Grodno. Immense forests enable the timber industry to flourish. In connection with this industry, there are several thriving paper-mills (Wilno, Mohylow).

South-West Ruthenia (the three governments of Wolhynia, Podolia, and Kiev) has a much larger industrial output than Lithuania or White Ruthenia; and large enter-

prises are therefore more numerous. In the six northern governments the factories employ on an average 43 workmen, whereas South-West Ruthenia, with an average of 114, surpasses in this respect even the Kingdom of Poland. Out of 1,149 establishments, employing a total of 131,140 workmen in 1912, there were 15 (14 in the food industry) employing more than 1,000 workmen (in all 24,784), and 220 employing from 100 to 1,000 (in all 80,724). In the other enterprises (914) 25,532 workmen were employed.

Kiev is the most important industrial centre of these three Governments. Nevertheless, the branches of industry connected with agriculture—and they form the larger number—have a fairly uniform development throughout the country.

The accompanying table gives the principal data concerning industry in S.W. Ruthenia.

| Industries in South West Ruthenia | Value of the Output in Francs in 1908 | Workmen 1912 | | Factories (1912) |
|--------------------------------------|--|------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| | | Actual Number | Per Cent. | |
| Alimentary Industry .. | 562,280,250 | 94,378 | 72.0 | 620 |
| Metal | 17,532,900 | 7,637 | 5.8 | 87 |
| Paper, Printing, etc. .. | 14,041,650 | 4,648 | 3.5 | 57 |
| Mineral | 12,322,800 | 12,246 | 9.3 | 124 |
| Animal Produce .. | 8,495,550 | 1,020 | 0.8 | 19 |
| Timber | 7,833,000 | 6,445 | 4.9 | 183 |
| Chemical | 4,153,800 | 1,285 | 1.0 | 19 |
| Textile | 3,642,450 | 1,179 | .9 | 30 |
| Miscellaneous | 5,146,050 | 2,292 | 1.8 | 10 |
| TOTALS .. | 635,448,450 | 131,140 | 100.0 | 1,149 |

Industry in South-West Ruthenia consists chiefly of the branches dependent on agriculture. Sugar, first and foremost, is manufactured on a great scale; for the fertile soil

of the country is particularly favourable to the cultivation of the sugar beet. (See Chapter on Agriculture.) In 1910—1911 there were in Podolia 51 sugar factories, in the government of Kiev 74, in Wolhynia 16. These 141 establishments absorbed more than 65,520,000 quintals of sugar beets, and produced about 9,828,000 quintals of raw sugar; 9,317,383 quintals of the same article were produced in 1911—1912; in 1912—1913 it fell 44 per cent. owing to the bad sugar beet harvest.

South-West Ruthenia holds the first place in the Russian Empire in regard to the production of sugar. The majority of the factories belong to great share-holding companies. The capital employed in 36 companies, which is either wholly or in part contributed by Poles, has been valued at 59,717,750 francs. (The participation of the Poles in these companies is in reality greater, but it has not been possible to procure data for all the companies).

Distilleries have also a certain importance in South-West Ruthenia; in 1912—1913 there were 298. Their output amounted to 1,729,800 hectares and considerably exceeds the needs of the country, although the consumption here is rather large—61.6 per cent. higher in relation to the population than that of the Kingdom.

The very important metal industry is only slightly developed, as can be seen from the table. Although it comes second after the alimentary industry in regard to the value of the annual output, and takes third place in regard to the number of workmen, it employs 12 times fewer workmen, and the value of its annual production is 28 times less than that of the preceding industry. Next come the paper industry, the mineral industry (pottery, etc.), animal produce and timber. The other branches of industry are not of any importance.

Trades in the nine Lithuano-Ruthenian Governments, and especially in the six northern ones are at a very low level. Thus, for example, in the government of Witebsk, 74 per cent. of the workshops do not employ journeymen. Trades are excessively overcrowded, especially in White Ruthenia, on account of the zones of settlement assigned to the Jews, who constitute the majority of the artisans. There are small towns in White Ruthenia where there is a tailor or a shoe-

maker to every 30 or 50 inhabitants. Elsewhere, on the other hand, it is difficult to find a market for the miserable products of these trades.

It is only in great urban centres such as Wilno that trades are prosperous and well conducted; this is due in great measure to the presence of artisans from the Kingdom of Poland.

Home industry in the country is not remarkable. Weaving is fairly widespread and has increased in the last few years, owing to the formation of a co-operative association, and the establishment of a depot at Wilno.

GALICIA

Industry is backward in Galicia. Until the introduction of autonomy in 1861, the Austrian Government, absolutely hostile to the economic progress of this province, opposed both the formation of industrial enterprises and the improvement of means of transport. Between 1850 and 1860 Galicia was joined by a network of railways to the other provinces of Austria, but unable as yet to compete with these powerful economic centres, Galicia soon saw her new-born industry perish. Of the nine sugar-beet factories and the twelve candle factories which existed in 1841, not a single one remained in 1890. In the region of Wadowice, Nowy-Soncz, Jaslo, the textile industry formerly employed 10,000 workmen. In the district of Biala in 1850, 40,000 shawls, worth 4,200,000 francs, were produced annually. The same activity prevailed in central and eastern Galicia. A few years later, this industry was dead. In 1822 Galicia possessed 40 iron foundries and 20 glass-works. The alterations introduced in technique, and the want of all support from the government, did not allow the promise of a fine industrial future to be realised. Thus, in 1873, at the moment when the autonomy of the country was, in its main principles, an accomplished fact, its economic decline was complete.

The industrial and agricultural exhibition at Lwów (Leopolis) in 1877 was the first sign of re-awakening. Work was resolutely set on foot, and among the pioneers of the movement must be mentioned Zybkiewicz, Marshal of the Diet, and Szczepanowski, a great patriot and the founder of the petroleum industry in Galicia. In 1883, in virtue of a

decision of the Diet, the "Permanent Commission for the Encouragement of Industry" was formed, and a private industrial fund was started to assist enterprises. To-day this fund amounts to 10,500,000 francs, and for the last ten years it has rendered inestimable services to the great industries. At the beginning a false step was made by restricting this assistance to artisans. In 1910 loans were granted amounting to 1,438,500 francs; in the first half of 1911, to 1,123,500 francs. Owing to this support, several factories for machines, iron utensils and chemical products, a large factory for cotton goods, a boot factory, and others have been founded. In 1901 "The Union of Industry," in 1904 "The Industrial Assistance League," in 1910 "The Industrial Bank" were founded, bringing new forces to the industrialisation of the country.

Progress under this head has been very marked in the last few years, in spite of the complete neglect of the economic interests of Galicia by the Austrian Government, which has also shown its ill-will in the matter of canals, and in regard to the statistics of foreign trade, etc. (See **Communications, Commerce.**)

Between 1902 and 1910, about 40 per cent. of the factories in Galicia were founded; at the same time the number of workmen, and mechanical motive power also increased rapidly. In all branches of industry almost without exception there has been a remarkable increase in the number of workmen; it reached 50 to 100 per cent. in the mining, ceramic and electric industries. All factories employed on an average more workmen in 1910 than in 1902 in consequence of the normal advance in technique and in capitalist concentration. The alimentary and graphic industries alone form an exception, and here the number of the establishments has increased relatively much more than that of the workmen. However, these industrial enterprises are on the whole of small importance. Out of 4,363 establishments 240 employ only one workman, 1,251 only 2 to 5. If we class these enterprises under industry and not as simple crafts, it is only on account of the conditions which govern the exchange of their products.³

³ See "Works of the Provincial Bureau of Industrial Statistics," Volume I. "State of Industrial and Mining Production in Galicia in 1910" (in Polish), by Dr. Al. Sgczepanski, Leopoldis, 1912, pp. 17-19.

In addition to mines and metallurgical factories there were in 1910 117 factories employing from 101 to 300 workmen (19,629 workmen), and 38 still larger factories with 22,926 workmen.

Industry in Galicia is concentrated geographically in three localities. The first—and most important—of these is situated in the western corner of Galicia. It is composed of the districts of Biala and Chrznow, not far from Cracow, and forms an industrial whole with Upper Silesia, with the region of Cieszyn on one side, and the Dabrowa-Sosnowiec basin in the Kingdom on the other. The second centre is due to the petroleum industry in the Drohobycz district. Lwów (Leopolis), capital of the province, with its surroundings, forms the third. In 1910 Galicia possessed 4,363 industrial or mining establishments with 106,556 workmen; 2,607 of these enterprises have mechanical motive power representing 139,344 horse-power (65 per cent. more than in 1902) and 89,873 workmen. The industrial and mining output (without counting that of home industry and trades) was valued in 1910 at 637,389,900 francs.

The output of these various Galician industries is as follows (1910):—

| Industries in Galicia | Value of Output in Francs in 1910 | Workmen | Factories |
|----------------------------|---|---------|-----------|
| Alimentary Industry .. | 314,122,200 | 20,774 | 1,501 |
| Mines | 66,150,000 | 16,501 | 372 |
| Chemical Industry.. | 52,838,100 | 5,075 | 127 |
| Timber | 52,710,000 | 12,469 | 284 |
| Pottery | 41,044,000 | 21,797 | 1,455 |
| Textile | 33,075,000 | 5,300 | 56 |
| Metal | 17,850,000 | 7,142 | 98 |
| Machine and Tool Industry | 15,750,000 | 4,087 | 52 |
| Paper, Printing .. | 23,092,650 | 5,605 | 140 |
| Leather and Skins .. | 8,494,500 | 1,077 | 86 |
| Metallurgical Foundries .. | 5,406,450 | 1,224 | 2 |
| Electric Energy | 3,486,000 | 393 | 28 |
| Apparel | 3,312,750 | 789 | 27 |
| Celluloid and Rubber .. | 57,750 | 124 | 3 |
| Linen Goods | — | 120 | 3 |
| Composite Industries .. | — | 3,513 | 149 |
| | 637,389,900 | 106,556 | 4,363 |

Four branches of industry in Galicia come before all others, both in regard to the number of factories and that of workmen: the alimentary, the ceramic, the mining, and the timber industries. In other words, those branches of industry preponderate in which raw or semi-raw material, destined either for immediate consumption or for being worked abroad, is produced. The chemical industry, it is true, occupies the third place in regard to the value of its products, but that is on account of the part played by petroleum, a branch of industry the products of which are not highly worked.

As a special chapter has been devoted to mines, it need only be noted here that the value of the mining output surpasses, according to experts, the figures which we have given from official sources, and amounts at least to 105 million francs.

The metallurgical industry is still rather backward in Galicia. In 1910 there were only two zinc foundries, with 1,224 workmen. In the same year 98 factories, employing altogether 7,142 workmen, were devoted to metal working and to the manufacture of simple metal articles. The value of their output was estimated at 17,850,000 francs. In 1910 there were 52 factories (with 4,087 workmen and an output of 15,750,000 francs) which manufactured machines and complicated instruments. The production of machinery and instruments for petroleum wells, exported to Roumania, Baku, and Canada, is very considerable. The workers in the metallurgical industry of Galicia are under the strict control of the Austrian Trade Unions.

In the mineral and ceramic branches of industry, factories for cement, concrete, bricks, and tiles flourish. The output of bricks in 1910 was valued at nearly 11,550,000 francs. The artistic quality of the pottery and china tiles produced is constantly improving.

The value of the products of the alimentary industry amounts to nearly half the total value of the industrial output of Galicia. The production of flour and fermented liquors comes first. There were 3,612 mills in 1910, 339 of which employed engines of over 20 horse-power: this class of mills employed 2,953 workmen. The output of the

mills, however, does not suffice for the consumption of the country.

In 1910 there were 851 alcohol distilleries, with 6,305 workmen, and an output valued, after deduction of duty, at 35,700,000 francs. The country not only makes sufficient alcohol for its own consumption, but also exports it in very considerable quantities. The producers in this branch of industry are well organised (Union of Agricultural Distilleries).

Until 1912 there existed only one sugar factory at Przeworsk employing 1,150 workmen. Its output was 163,831 quintals of refined sugar, valued at 7,350,000 francs. Another has just been established at Chodorow, which is also of considerable importance.

The textile industry does not exhibit, so far, any great activity in Galicia: it produces almost exclusively woollen goods, and very little cotton. Nevertheless, specialisation is carried very far in this branch, as for example in the manufacture of garments for Hebrew ritual and the production of ribbons for Bosnian and Serb costumes. The country exports textile goods to the value of about 315,000,000 francs.

In spite of the abundance of raw material, resulting from cattle-breeding, the leather industry is not developing in a satisfactory way. Galicia exports a quantity of hides, and imports, in return, leather goods and foot wear.

Home industry is fairly widespread and, as a consequence of the smallness of the peasant agricultural properties, as well as on account of the enormous amount of labour at disposal, is of very great importance. However, owing to the want of rational organisation in the sale of its products, it is far from yielding what might be expected. The "Local Industrial Union," founded at Leopoldis in 1898, devotes itself with zeal to the commercial organisation of home industry. It possesses at present two depots: one at Cracow, the other at Leopoldis.

In 1902, 97,600 persons were employed in home industries, or 34 per cent. of all the people employed that year in industrial undertakings of every kind (large industries, trades, home industries). The making of clothes, and weaving take the first place and employ 58 per cent. of the

persons working in home industries. Then come the wood industry and the making of articles from straw or rushes. Mention should be made also of paper goods, certain metal industries, and the building industry.

The output of small craftsmen has suffered from the progress of large industries, although both the Austrian and the autonomous Governments have given their protection to this interesting class of workmen (Trade Corporations, Chambers of Trade, Certificates of Qualification, etc.).

In 1902 small trades of from one to five persons employed 96,222 persons (33 per cent. of industrial workmen in general). Of this number 32 per cent. made clothes, 26 per cent. worked in the alimentary industry, others produced metal and wood articles.

At present the total industrial production of Galicia (large industries, home industries, and craftsmen) may be valued approximately at over a milliard francs a year.

DUCHY OF CIESZYN (TESCHEN)

This small Polish province, which forms part of Austrian Silesia, and borders on Galicia (see **Country** and **Inhabitants**), is one of the most industrial of Polish territories.

In 1900 its population numbered 369,000; in 1910, 434,821. The total number of persons working in its 8,715 industrial and commercial establishments amounted, in 1902, to 80,298. Industrial production occupied 74,435 workmen, employed in 5,657 factories, and of this number 29,408 worked in 48 establishments belonging to the extractive industry. (For production of coal, see **Mineral Wealth** and **Mines**.) These figures show the great extent of capitalist concentration in this branch of industry in Cieszyn: each mining establishment employed on an average 6,127 workmen. The metal industry also shows a great development: 9,923 workmen and 672 factories. The textile industry employs 7,687 workmen and has 208 factories; that of wood, 4,251 and 566; and the chemical industry 3,485 and 74.

The manufacture of apparel also constitutes the livelihood of a considerable number of persons, but it is for the

most part carried on in a small way by individual tradesmen, as is shown by the great number of establishments compared with that of workmen: 1,653 and 3,370. The manufacture of articles of food employed 3,119 persons; the stone and pottery industry 2,641; paper, etc., 1,534; and lastly, three blast furnaces 1,054. The other branches of industry, except the building industry, were, in 1902, of no importance.

PRUSSIAN POLAND

The Polish provinces annexed by Prussia show vast differences in regard to their industrialisation. At the head comes Silesia, which is the most industrial of all Polish territories. Poznan and West Prussia, not being endowed with raw material, which they are obliged to import from a great distance, and having no Government support, have only made slow progress in industry. We shall omit East Prussia here, for its southern part⁴ is inhabited by Poles, and the great majority of them are employed in agriculture. Such industry as there is in East Prussia is on the whole the same as that of West Prussia.

The fierce conflict of nationalities, supported, on the German side, by the whole machinery of the State, by laws of exception, and by large special subsidies, has paralysed Polish initiative, and has naturally had a profound influence on the economic life of the country. The authorities of the State and of the towns boycott the Polish shopkeeper and manufacturer; the German banks refuse them all credit. It is only after repeated efforts that the Poles, by their perseverance, have been able to organise an effective defence.

The great Polish industrial leaders have formed "The Union of Polish Manufacturers," the headquarters of which is at Poznan. Polish artisans have associations in all the important towns.

In Poznan and West Prussia, the Germans own a great number of the industrial enterprises, especially the larger ones. In Poznan, in 1907, 58.4 per cent. of the employers of industry were Polish; 41.6 per cent. German. In Silesia

⁴ The Regency of Olsztyn (Allenstein).

almost all industry is in the hands of the Germans : labour alone is Polish.

The industrial development of Poznań and West Prussia is nevertheless making substantial progress. According to German statistics of occupations, there were in West Prussia, in 1882, 55,488 industrial, commercial or transport enterprises, with 121,672 workmen; in 1907, there were 58,025 with 204,124 workmen. In Poznań, in 1882, there were 63,660 enterprises, with 131,058 workmen; in 1907, 69,306 enterprises and 221,591 workmen.⁵ There was an increase therefore in this interval of 2,437 factories⁶ and 83,452 workmen in West Prussia; and an increase of 5,646 factories and 90,553 workmen in Poznań. The increase in the number of workmen has taken place especially in the larger factories; capital has been concentrated and each industrial establishment enlarged. In 1907, in West Prussia, there were 413 large enterprises, each employing over 50 workmen, with a total of 58,274 workmen; in Poznań, 397 with 49,834 workmen. Industry is centred chiefly in the towns of Gdansk (Danzig), Elblong, Pilawa, Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) and Poznań (Posen). Agricultural industrial establishments—distilleries, sugar refineries, mills—are scattered throughout the country. Saw-mills and factories have been established on both banks of the Vistula, in which the timber which is brought down the river is worked.

Industry in Upper Silesia is of a quite different character from that in West Prussia or Poznań. In 1882 the number of persons employed in the classes enumerated in the statistics for West Prussia and Poznań amounted, in Silesia, taken as a whole, to 629,574, of whom 176,387 worked in factories employing over 50 workmen. (Upper Silesia is the most industrial part of Silesia). In

⁵ It should be noted that German statistics take account, also, of small industrial enterprises, which have the character of handicrafts, and do not figure in the industrial statistics of either the Kingdom or Galicia. For this reason, the data concerning the number of workmen and factories are not the same in these countries, and give higher figures for Prussian Poland, in comparison with the Kingdom of Galicia, than the industrialisation of this province warrants.

⁶ The number of factories employing fewer than six workmen has diminished.

1907, these figures had increased to 1,069,418 and 477,144 respectively. There had, therefore, been an increase of 439,844 workmen in 25 years, of whom over 300,000 were employed in large factories of over 50 workmen. On the other hand, the total number of factories fell from 241,027 to 229,552. In Upper Silesia alone, the number of industrial workmen increased from 167,752 in 1875 to 356,783 in 1907. Industry is on a particularly large scale in this country and produces for the world market. The exceptional concentration of industry on the area of a few districts is particularly striking.

The principal branches of industry in Prussian Poland in 1907 are shown in the accompanying table.

It should be added that a considerable number of workmen are employed in the building industry : in Poznan in 1907 there were 41,427 in 4,318 enterprises; in West Prussia 31,266 men in 3,872 enterprises. Dry cleaning establishments employ 4,390 workmen in Poznan, 3,726 in West Prussia. Other branches of economic activity, quoted in the German industrial and commercial statistics, are either on the border line between industry and agriculture (*e.g.* : gardening), or else come under the head of commerce.

| Industries in Prussian Poland | The three Polish provinces of Prussia | POZNANIA | | WEST PRUSSIA | | UPPER SILESIA |
|-------------------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| | | Work- men | Factor- ies | Work- men | Factor- ies | Work- men |
| | Workmen | | | | | |
| Mines and Foundries | 154,079 | 1,381 | 80 | 1,188 | 62 | 151,510 |
| Metal Industry | 88,101 | 19,862 | 6,094 | 28,664 | 4,888 | 39,575 |
| Alimentary „ | 84,810 | 30,690 | 8,380 | 26,237 | 5,736 | 27,883 |
| Apparel „ | 72,362 | 25,727 | 14,933 | 20,752 | 12,568 | 25,883 |
| Mineral „ | 45,439 | 15,343 | 956 | 10,812 | 765 | 19,284 |
| Timber „ | 44,554 | 14,961 | 3,630 | 15,397 | 3,454 | 14,196 |
| Textile „ | 12,276 | 809 | 396 | 1,032 | 279 | 10,435 |
| Paper, Print- ing, etc. | 11,872 | 3,020 | 445 | 3,272 | 371 | 5,580 |
| Chemical „ | 8,468 | 2,270 | 307 | 2,491 | 200 | 3,725 |
| Animal Pro- duce | 6,030 | 2,171 | 909 | 1,610 | 770 | 2,249 |
| TOTAL .. | 528,009 | 116,234 | 36,130 | 111,455 | 29,093 | 300,320 |

As can be seen in the table, industry is incomparably more advanced in Upper Silesia (Regency of Opole) than in the other two provinces. Upper Silesia, which is equal in area to about one quarter of Poznan and West Prussia taken together, employs nearly three-fifths of the total number of industrial workmen in Prussian Poland. It is Upper Silesia, therefore, which determines the order in which the different branches of industry in the three Polish provinces are ranged according to their development.

At the head of the Silesian industries comes Mines and Foundries. There is one miner to every fourteen inhabitants, and at least a quarter of the population live by this industry, either directly or indirectly.

The extraction of coal is the most important, then that of iron and zinc ore. (See **Mineral Wealth and Mines.**) The output of eleven metallurgical factories amounted in 1900 to 747,000 tons of pig iron, valued at 59,901,000 francs; in 1913 to 1,048,000 tons, valued at about 85,000,000 francs. The number of workmen employed in 1912 was 5,249. The output of the 22 steel factories in 1900 was 789,000 tons, valued at 111,561,000 francs; in 1910 the output amounted to 1,159,000 tons. Upper Silesia produced between 1900 and 1910 a total of 1,395,342 tons; of zinc ore in 1912 168,500 tons (fifteen foundries and about 9,000 workmen). Upper Silesia produced in 1910 17.3 per cent. of the world's production. The output of lead in 1912 was 41,300 tons.

In Poznan and in West Prussia, mines and iron works are almost non-existent. Here either the alimentary or the metal industry holds the first place. The metal industry is particularly prosperous in West Prussia, although in the number of workmen employed it does not equal Upper Silesia. In the latter province machines, and boilers especially, are manufactured; in West Prussia, where in addition to private firms great State firms exist, principally at Gdansk (Dantzig) locomotives, battleships, arms, etc., are produced. Poznan (Posen) and Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) are also important centres of this industry. It should be noted, however, that the greater part of the workmen in the metal industry are employed in small enterprises which are more in the nature of shops and supply exclusively local needs.

The most prosperous branch of industry in Poznan is

the manufacture of articles of food. This industry is likewise very well developed in West Prussia and in Upper Silesia. Of the alimentary industries, distilleries, sugar-refineries, and flour-mills are the most important. In the production of sugar the Polish provinces come at the head of all the provinces of the German Empire. There are 50 sugar factories which transform more than two million tons of sugar beet into sugar, and produce about 600,000 tons of raw sugar (in Poznan alone 1,500,000 on an average between 1909 and 1912), which is nearly one-third of the sugar production of Prussia and a quarter of that of the whole German Empire.

In 1912—1913 there were in Poznan 569 distilleries, in West Prussia 348, in Silesia (three Regencies) 924. In Poznan alone the distilleries used on an average, between 1909 and 1912, 4,500,000 qm. of potatoes. In 1906 were produced: in Poznan 704,000 hectolitres of alcohol, in West Prussia 347,000. These countries are the largest producers of alcohol in the Kingdom of Prussia and export a large quantity. The production of beer is relatively less important than in the other countries of the Empire: in Poznan in 1906, 627,000 hl. were produced, in West Prussia 788,000 hl. In 1913 the number of breweries in Poznan was 109, in West Prussia 69, in the whole of Silesia 462. The flour industries particularly flourish in West Prussia, principally in the neighbourhood of Gdansk (Dantzic). Other important centres are Torun (Thorn), Kwidzyn (Marienwerder), Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), and Poznan. Mention should also be made of the tobacco industry, concentrated principally at Poznan and Gdansk. After these three branches of industry comes the making of clothes (in Poznan it even occupies the second place), which is chiefly carried on by small tradesmen, producing for local consumption.

The mineral industry, especially in its cement, lime and pottery branches, is also of some importance, as is that of wood, which employs principally the timber floated down from Russia, the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia. These two industries export a part of their output. The other branches of industry are insignificant. It should be noted particularly that the textile industry is completely absent

in Poznań and in West Prussia, and is but poorly developed in Upper Silesia.

This brief review of the industrial production of the territories of Poland enables us to realise how greatly they differ from one another in the degree of their industrialisation. In this respect Upper Silesia, on the one hand, Lithuania and White Ruthenia on the other, are at the opposite extremes. The Kingdom and Galicia occupy a middle place. But great differences may also be noted between these two provinces.⁷ In the Kingdom, for example, out of every 1,000 inhabitants there are 33 workmen employed in industry; in Galicia there are hardly 13. In the Kingdom, the value of the output is 187 francs per head, in Galicia only 79.

The more industrial Polish districts show also the most advanced industrial structure. Branches eminently productive, or those which furnish energy, come first. In regard to the number of workmen, mines and foundries occupy the first place in Upper Silesia, with a number of establishments dependent on these two industries. In the Kingdom, weaving, the working of iron, and metal industries, come first. Manufactures for ulterior productive purposes, for "technical consumption," are here of great importance. In Galicia, in spite of its wealth in minerals, and in the other Polish countries, the industry based on agriculture is easily first, an industry intended before all to satisfy the immediate needs of the local population. Nevertheless, all branches of Polish industry have developed greatly in the last few years. The population, realizing the enormous economic and social importance of industry, have thrown themselves into it with an ever-increasing zeal.

⁷ The statistical data for these two countries are not completely uniform, but nevertheless permit of relatively exact comparison.

CHAPTER IV

COMMERCE.

THE three divisions of the former Republic of Poland do not form a homogeneous commercial territory, in spite of the Treaty of Vienna (1815), which guaranteed to the countries included within the boundaries of the Republic of 1772 the free exchange of all their products. Separated by fiscal frontiers, to the injury of their most obvious economic interests, they have to submit to the commercial policies of the three co-partitioning States.¹

KINGDOM OF POLAND

The Kingdom of Poland, as regards customs, has been included in the Empire of Russia since 1850. The Protectionist system, introduced in 1877, and carried much further since, while rendering it difficult for the Kingdom to exchange its merchandise with other countries, has bound it closely to Russia. Thus, in the last few years, the value of the exchange of merchandise with Russia (including transit trade) has been over two and a half times greater than that of the exchange with other countries.

In 1911, merchandise to the value of 1,951,725,000 francs from Austria and Prussia crossed the frontiers of the Kingdom, or 12.4 per cent. more than in the preceding year. This figure represents 734,050,000 francs of exports (37.1 per cent.); and 1,217,675,000 francs of imports. The Customs Duties, paid in the same year on imported merchandise, reached nearly 265,000,000 francs—that is to say, more than 21 per cent. of the value of the merchandise. The frontier of Prussia is much more important, commer-

¹ None of the Polish territories possess statistics of their external commerce; thus the data which it has been possible to procure, based principally on the statistics of the railways, are far from being complete or accurate.

cially, than that of Austria; the Prussian trade is fourteen times greater than the Austrian. Moreover, the imports into Prussia are twice as large as the exports, whereas on the Austrian frontier exports and imports are nearly equal. Three-fourths of the merchandise imported from Austria is destined for the Kingdom itself; whereas nearly half the merchandise from Prussia passes through the Kingdom in transit. About one-third of the merchandise (694,300,000 francs out of 1,817,900,000 in 1911), which passes through the customs offices of Wierzbolowo and Grajewo, does not enter the Kingdom, is not intended for the Kingdom, and has no significance even from the point of view of transit trade. Transport through Warsaw, however, is important, not only from its amount, but also from its commercial influence. It has led to the establishment of dépôts in the city, and the employment there of a large number of Commissioners who act as agents between the East and the West.

The trade of the Kingdom with the Empire of Russia (excluding transit trade) is, as we have said, greater than its trade with other countries. In the trade with other countries the imports exceed the exports, and thus the balance is on the debit side. In the trade with the Empire on the contrary the exports exceed the imports by about 55 per cent., with the result that there is a considerable credit balance. Polish industry which developed earlier than that of Russia has found a large market for its products in the immense markets of the East, which are still, however, insufficiently exploited. The textile industry in particular has profited by these favourable conditions. Its output amounts to nearly 40 per cent. of the total value of the industrial output of the Kingdom, and three-fourths of these products go to Russia. It is true that 163,000 quintals of cotton and woollen goods are imported annually into the Kingdom from the Empire, and that there is an enormous importation of raw material from abroad and from Russia. Yet, thanks to the exportation by the Kingdom of 9,737,000 quintals of cotton and woollen goods in 1910, the textile industry can show a balance in favour of the Kingdom amounting to about 175,000,000 francs.

Nevertheless, in the last few years, the conditions of this

branch of industry have changed to the disadvantage of the Kingdom. The textile industry has to import raw material (cotton and wool) from far-off districts in Russia, or from abroad, and has to pay the State very high customs duties imposed for Russian profit. Thus it is only with great difficulty that it can meet the competition of the district round Moscow, which is nearer the markets where the raw material is obtained and where the goods are sold.

It is the same with the produce of the iron industry—that branch of commerce which is so important in all countries. A large part of this produce is exported by the Kingdom to Russia, though less than in the case of the textile industry. The large importation of iron ore (4,504,500 quintals in 1911) and of pig iron from Russia reduces to a minimum the production of Polish ore of any quality inferior to the Russian, and it is difficult to import it from other countries. These raw materials are burdened with customs duties, which protect the interests of the Russian mines and the Russian metallurgical industry.

The markets of the Empire (including Lithuania and Ruthenia) take a great part of the machinery, coal and sugar output of the Kingdom, as well as that of its distilleries, tanneries, boot, and clothing factories.

As regards the products of the soil and the alimentary industry, the Kingdom has ceased for a long time to be an exporting country. In regard to the products of the soil the commercial balance shows a very marked debit. The Kingdom has to import annually several million francs worth of cereals and their products (55,650,000 in 1897; 21,200,000 in 1909). In the last few years, thanks to the progress of agriculture, this state of things seems to have improved.

The Kingdom exports to the Empire and to the East of Europe horses, poultry, eggs, vegetables, pulse and fodder; it imports (principally from Russia) cattle, wheat-flour, rye, fish, tobacco, and colonial goods. The most important article is Russian flour (over 1,474,200 quintals in 1909), a surplus of importation to the value of 48,800,000 francs. This flour, owing to special differential railway tariffs (the cost of transport is greatly reduced for long distances), inundates the markets of the Kingdom, and thus

competes in a formidable way with Polish mills and agriculture. The importation of cattle from the Steppes (by way of Wlodawa) is also very considerable, and is injurious to local cattle breeding. It is all the more injurious because, owing to the customs duties, it is impossible to count on a remunerative market in Germany. In the last few years a great deal of rye has been imported, especially from the Polish provinces of Germany, whose exports are encouraged by bounties (from abroad in general 200,000 quintals are imported).

The trade of the Kingdom, whether internal or foreign, lacks organisation in comparison with that of western countries. Exact statistics are wanting, and above all the country possesses no Chambers of Commerce or of Industry to watch over its development or defend its interests. The Warsaw Exchange, which has existed since 1817, does not generally do more than conduct financial operations, and that of Lodz has only recently been founded. At the same time, these two establishments fulfil to a limited extent the functions of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The important "Polish Merchants' Association," founded at Warsaw in 1906, has a similar object. Trade in agricultural products suffers especially from the multitude of middlemen—Jews for the most part—and from the want of centres of organisation. Only in the last few years have agricultural syndicates and associations begun to set up a number of dépôts for cereals. In former times, fairs were of great importance, but their importance is now fast decreasing.

In 1912, in the Kingdom of Poland 150,000 licences for industrial or commercial companies (commercial 75 per cent.) and for private traders, were taken out. Two-thirds of these commercial establishments (76,000) are of medium size. Since 1908, the number of these licences has increased 28 per cent., which shows the rapid development of the country's trade.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

In certain regions of Lithuania, White Ruthenia, and South-West Ruthenia conditions resemble those in the Kingdom of Poland; nevertheless these countries are on the

whole in a state of transition. Thus it is difficult to consider them as a uniform territory from the economic point of view; besides, there are no special works dealing with them, and for this reason only superficial data can be furnished concerning their commerce. Industrially backward as these countries are (with the exception of Bialystok on the frontier of the Kingdom) they serve as markets for the industry of the Kingdom on the one side, and that of Central Russia on the other. They export wood, grain, flax, cattle, skins, and poultry. In regard to the export of industrial products dependent on agriculture, the alcohol of Lithuania and White Ruthenia, and the sugar of South West Ruthenia occupy the first place (see **Industry**). Internal commerce is badly organised, and in a very primitive state; it consists in general of a small retail trade, and is often actually carried on by pedlars. In Lithuania and White Ruthenia trade is encumbered with an excessive number of small retailers, the result of the over-crowding of Jews in the "zone of settlement."

GALICIA

In 1784, that is to say, a few years after the First Partition, Galicia was incorporated in the Customs Union of Austria, with the exception, however, of the Republic of Cracow, which was not annexed until 1846. The linking up of Galicia with the other Austrian provinces by railway lines, laid during the second half of the 19th century, made Austrian Poland economically a part of the Customs Union of the Monarchy; a union of which Hungary has formed part since 1850. Thus, it is not Galicia which determines the policy of Austria in regard to commerce and customs, or the drawing up of railway tariffs so much as the powerful industrial Western Provinces and agricultural Hungary. The interests of Galicia are so little considered in these matters that when the Diet of Galicia voted in 1909 for the drawing up of statistics of the foreign trade of the province, which statistics alone could furnish a solid basis for the commercial policy of the country, the Central Authorities refused to sanction this decision. For this reason the

figures in regard to the commercial balance in Galicia are much more uncertain than in the case of the Kingdom.

Galicia's principal customer is Germany. In 1900 (more recent data do not exist) the exports from Galicia and the Bukovina into Germany amounted to 10,697,000 q.m.; the imports from Germany to 6,059,000.

In the last six years, commercial transactions with Germany have declined: Austrian exports to Germany (and these are principally Galician exports), according to the Cracow Chamber of Commerce, fell during that period from 114,320,000 francs to 62,730,000 francs. Russia is ousting Galicia more and more as regards exports to Germany.

Galicia imports from Germany iron ore, iron articles, machines, glass, beer, sugar, chemical manures, coal and other valuable merchandise. The protective customs duties with which the importation of raw material is burdened are very prejudicial to Galician interests. In 1908 Galicia imported from Germany 7,500,000 q.m. of coal. Owing to the extraordinary density of the population, the local production of cereals is not sufficient for the consumption. It appears that, since the end of the 18th century, Galicia has had to import them. At present the importation of flour and wheat from Hungary into Galicia amounts to about 2,500,000 q.m., that is to say, to about a quarter of the consumption. Galicia, therefore, has no interest whatever in the maintenance of the high customs duties laid upon wheat for the profit of Hungarian landlords. These customs duties, which have increased since 1906, have raised the price of wheat 32 per cent.

The competition of the industrial provinces of Western Austria makes itself particularly felt in Galicia in regard to the products of the textile industry. It has brought about the ruin of the native industry. Towards the end of the 18th century, Galicia exported 3,990,000 francs of linen and 777,000 francs of cloth. In 1841 the exportation of linen amounted to 6,300,000 francs. In 1910 the total value of the textile output did not exceed 33,075,000 francs, and Galicia is obliged to import (annually) woven fabrics to the value of nearly 300,000,000 francs. On the other hand, this province exports flax, hemp, and wool. It also exports game, fish, shell-fish, poultry (at least 1,000,000 head),

eggs, cheese, butter. To these must be added cattle, intended in general for the Vienna market; the irritating procedure of German veterinary authorities has sensibly diminished the exportation of cattle to German markets. In 1911, 31,000 head of cattle and 532,000 pigs were brought from Galicia to Vienna. The value of the total exportation of pigs amounted to 100 million francs annually. One of the principal articles of Galician export is timber, of which, in the last few years, about 2,000,000 cubic metres with a value of nearly 73,500,000 francs has been exported, without counting wood for fuel. The main destination of this article is North Germany, Berlin, and the great northern ports, and then Italy and France. It is important to note the detrimental influence of the German tariffs, a matter to which Austria apparently pays no attention. The Germans, in fact, apply different tariffs for logwood and for sawn wood—at present the proportion is as one to six. Galicia exports also raw naphtha, refined petroleum (two-thirds of the production of the refineries in the country) and ozokerit. On the whole, chiefly in consequence of the unfavourable relation between exports and imports, the balance of accounts in Galicia shows a debit tendency.

The home trade in products of the soil in Galicia is gradually becoming organised and consolidated. In this domain weighty services have been rendered by—The Commercial Association of Agricultural Circles at Leopoldis, with branches in other localities; the Syndicate of Agricultural Associations at Cracow; the Commercial Section of the Agricultural Association of Eastern Galicia; numerous dépôt associations; the commercial branches of the Dairy Associations. The Chambers of Commerce of Cracow, Leopoldis, and Brody have now for some time protected commercial interests.

PRUSSIAN POLAND

As in the case of Galicia, the inclusion of Poznan and West Prussia in the more industrial western provinces of Germany has not failed to exercise a decisive influence upon the economic and commercial development of these two districts. No less important, and no less unfavourable, have

been their separation from their old markets in the ancient Republic of Poland, and the hostile policy of the Prussian Government. For this reason the industry of these Polish provinces, formerly the best organised from the industrial point of view, began to decline from the moment they were assimilated with the German Hinterland. On the other hand, the protective tariff on the products of the soil, introduced in 1879, and increased in 1885 and the following years, as well as the bounties on the exportation of wheat, have had a beneficial influence upon agriculture and trade in its products. The exportation of the products of the soil from Poznań is very considerable, and also, though to a less extent, from West Prussia. Poznań, from 1886 to 1908, exported annually 250,000 quintals of wheat, 2,080,000 quintals of rye, 410,000 quintals of barley, and 210,000 quintals of oats. (See **Agriculture**.) In regard to exported cereals the Grand Duchy of Poznań occupies the first place in the German Empire. This province, as well as West Prussia, also exports in great quantity the products of the alimentary industry : alcohol and sugar. Compared with the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, trade in the products of the soil is well organised in Prussian Poland. Not only private corn-merchants, but also excellent agricultural associations (Rolniki), founded within the last fifteen years, have greatly helped in its organisation. (See **Agriculture: Agricultural Associations**.)

A great part of the goods find a market in the neighbouring industrial Polish province of Silesia. In exchange, Poznań and West Prussia import coal and various industrial products. Moreover, Upper Silesia, the most industrial Polish province, exports coal, pig-iron, iron ware, zinc, and lead to western Germany, England, France, and, in spite of onerous duties, to the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia.

The most important commercial centres in Prussian Poland are : Gdansk (Dantzic), Toruń, Poznań, Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), and some towns in Upper Silesia (for the mercantile traffic in the port of Gdansk and on the Vistula, see **Communications**).

This rapid review of the trade of the three parts of Poland enables us to see how disastrous, especially in the case of Galicia, Poznań and West Prussia, has been their incorpo-

ration in different foreign customs unions. Nevertheless, this has not destroyed the mutual commercial attraction of these three parts of Poland which, economically, need one another and would complete one another to perfection. The Kingdom exports an enormous quantity of woven fabrics, which Galicia, Poznań and West Prussia now import from elsewhere. Galicia could furnish to the Kingdom, and to the provinces annexed by Prussia, salt and petroleum. Upper Silesia and the Kingdom could contribute iron and coal; West Prussia and Poznań could supply the deficit in wheat and agricultural products which exists in Galicia and in the Kingdom.

In this way Poland would form a homogeneous and almost self-sufficing commercial whole.

CHAPTER V

WAYS AND COMMUNICATIONS

WATERWAYS

THE territories of Poland constitute a fairly well-defined whole from the point of view of natural communications, thanks to the Vistula and its tributaries. The basin of the Vistula covers an area of 198,500 sq. km.; of which 43,000 are in Silesia and Galicia; 123,000 in the Kingdom, and in the governments of Wolhynia and Grodno; and 32,460 in East and West Prussia. The Vistula has twenty-one principal tributaries, making, together with the river itself (1,068 km.) a total length of 7,700 km., of which 4,980 km. are navigable, that is, about 65 per cent.

Formerly, when the basin of the Vistula belonged in its entirety to the Kingdom of Poland, and was not split up by customs barriers, and when natural water-ways were the principal arteries of communication, this river played an all-important part in the traffic and transport of merchandise. Towards Gdansk (Dantzic), the natural port of Poland, corn, wood, and, to a less extent, salt, lard, honey, wool, flax, etc., flowed down the Vistula. In return, by the same route, the merchandise of England, Sweden and Holland penetrated into Poland. In 1490, the export of wheat from Gdansk amounted to 24,500 tons; in 1617 to 289,200 tons; from 1871 to 1880, 189,117 tons a year on an average; from 1891 to 1900, 100,818 tons. The diminution shown in the last ten years has resulted from the commercial policy of Russia, which protects Russian traffic through the port of Libawa (Libau). In 1912, 3,658 ships, displacing 1,012,554 tons, entered the port of Gdansk. In 1900, 6,095 boats and 552 rafts sailed down the Vistula to the same town.¹

¹ Gdansk is also an important centre for the transport of merchandise by rail. In 1900, 8,651,420 quintals (56 per cent. of which were of Polish origin) were carried by rail to Gdansk; and from Gdansk 6,665,750 quintals, of which 83 per cent. entered Polish territory.

The mercantile fleet of the Vistula was composed in 1905 of 135 steamers, 75 of which belonged to Prussia, 55 to the Kingdom of Poland, and 5 to Galicia. This figure is far below that of other river fleets in Europe (Oder, 226; Elbe, 923; Rhine, 1,185). But in addition, merchandise is also transported by lighters, pinnaces, rafts, etc. (20,000 rafts pass up and down the rivers of the Kingdom every year).

In the last ten years (1900—1910) there passed between Warsaw and the Prussian frontier, up stream and down, 5,875 steamers carrying passengers and cargo; 334 tugs and 6,000 sailing or other vessels not employing steam. In addition to this, 1,163 floats of timber. Only a quarter of these cargoes went up stream. In 1910 the passengers who travelled to Warsaw by the Vistula numbered 600,000 persons. Timber is the chief article of traffic on the Vistula. In 1903, 507,780 tons were carried along this river or its tributaries; 12 per cent. from Galicia, 52 per cent. from Russia, and 236 per cent. from the Kingdom; in 1911, 538,902 tons. The value of the timber which passed through Toruń (Thorn) was estimated at 47,561,640 francs (in 1911, 415,464 tons of timber, and 142,693 tons of other goods).

Nevertheless, the railways carry into the basin of the Vistula, and farther, into Prussia, about 75,000 trucks of timber a year, or nearly 859,950 tons. If, by the improvement of river communications, this transport of timber were effected by water, which moreover would be more convenient in the case of this heavy and cumbersome class of material, the amount saved would be over 18,550,000 francs per year.² By the Vistula are transported also coal, stone, lime, skins, grain, bark, sheet-iron, petroleum, etc. In 1911, down that part of the river which flows across the Kingdom (653 km.) were transported 864,864 tons of different kinds of merchandise: this traffic, to speak more exactly, amounted to 166,919,000 kilometric tons; in Galicia, in 1905 (Vistula and Dniester), to 23,000,000 kilometric tons.

The commercial transactions on the Vistula to Warsaw

² According to the calculations of Suppan the transport of merchandise by European waterways amounted annually to 56.8 and, by railways, to 106.1 milliards of kilometric tons. The saving effected by the use of waterways for transport amounted annually to the enormous sum of 476,700,000 francs for Europe alone.

amount annually to 27,825,000 francs. According to the figures given by the customs office at Nieszawa (on the Prussian frontier) the commercial traffic on the Vistula at that spot amounted in 1909 to 38,841,000 francs. In consequence of the unfavourable conditions which have been noted above (the partitions of Poland), and also because the course of the Vistula is far from being regulated, this river does not fulfil the functions which it might. Prussia alone, since the year 1832, has undertaken works of regulation along that part of the Vistula which traverses the country annexed by her, and has constructed ten ports. In Galicia, nothing was done till 1868, and only the short section between Cracow and Niepolonice has been regulated. As for the principal tributaries of the river, hardly anything has been done. In the Kingdom, still less has been accomplished. This negligence has not only a pernicious effect upon navigation, but also encourages periodic floods, the damage done by which sometimes reaches tens of millions of francs. In 1906, the losses from this cause were officially estimated at about 31,500,000 francs.

The importance of the natural water-ways of Poland would be still greater, not only if the indispensable works of regulation were carried out, but, above all, if they were completed by the linking up of the different basins by canals. In Galicia, for example, in consequence of its geographical configuration, and the distance of its two centres of natural wealth from each other, a network of canals, and improvements in the water-ways, would lead to a rapid economic development, and at the same time restore to the province its ancient prerogative as an international commercial route of the first rank.

In virtue of a law passed in 1901, canals were to be constructed connecting the Oder with the Vistula, the Vistula with the Dniester, and the Danube with the Oder; more than half these communications would have been in Galicia. But an obstacle arose at once in the opposition of the Austrian government, and the construction of the canals was postponed till the year 1912. The work was then taken in hand but so half-heartedly that hardly anything has been done. At present, on the territory of Poland, there

exist the canal of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg),³ joining the basin of the Oder to that of the Vistula; the canal of Augustow, joining the Vistula and the Niemen; that of the Dnieper-Bug, connecting the Dnieper with the Vistula. This is the most important in regard to mercantile traffic (1,085,994 tons transported in 1910). There are also the Oginski Canal connecting the Niemen and the Dnieper, and the canal of Berezów connecting the Berezyna, the Dnieper and the Dzwina. In this way the Black Sea is connected by three waterways with the Baltic. The Dnieper (length 2,073 km.), the Dzwina (949 km.), the Niemen (878 km.), as well as some of their more important tributaries, flow principally through Ruthenia and Lithuania. The regulation of these rivers, the keeping up of canals, of which the network ought to be completed, would serve as a solid basis for economic progress in these essentially agricultural countries, which have no coal, and consequently need a cheap means of transport for heavy products.⁴ At the present time timber constitutes the principal object of transport over these water courses. In 1910, 3,800,160 tons of merchandise were transported along the Dnieper; half the amount along the Dzwina; and less than half along the Niemen.

In 1905, in the Kingdom, the length of navigable waterways, up stream and down, was 3,141 km. (timber floating was possible over 4,588 km.), 1,407 km. of which were navigable by steamers. In Galicia the length was 815 km., 680 km. of which were navigable by steamers; the length of the rivers where timber floating was possible was 1,288 km. In the Prussian part of the basin of the Vistula, the length of the navigable rivers was about 700 km. The Warta, Oder, and Notec also serve as water-ways. There are, for every 100 sq. km. 2.47 km. of water-ways in the Kingdom; 1.04 in Galicia; in Germany, in 1908, there were 2.48 km.

³ In 1911 49,627 tons of timber and 105,245 tons of other merchandise were transported along this canal.

⁴ It should be noted that the Oginski Canal and the Dnieper-Bug Canal were constructed in the 18th century by the government of the Republic. Under Russian rule, but according to Polish designs, the Berezów Canal was constructed between 1798 and 1823. The Augustow Canal was made between 1824 and 1839, with the active support of the Bank of Poland.

RAILWAYS AND ROADS

In regard to land communications, the three parts of Poland are very differently supplied. The enormous differences between them as regards the development of railways, will appear from the accompanying table :

| Country | | Length in km. of the Railways | KM. OF RAILWAYS | |
|--|--------|--|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| | | | per 10,000 inhabitants | per 100 square km. |
| Kingdom of Poland .. | (1912) | 3,748 | 2.93 | 2.9 |
| Lithuania and Ruthenia (9 governments) .. | (1911) | 9,854 | 3.82 | 2.1 |
| Galicia | (1911) | 4,120 | 5.13 | 5.24 |
| Poznan ^a | (1912) | 2,666 | 11.7 | 9.27 |
| West Prussia .. | (1912) | 2,250 | | |
| East Prussia .. | (1912) | 2,849 | | |
| Silesia | (1912) | 4,627 | | |
| Austria | (1911) | 22,749 | 7.96 | 7.58 |
| German ^a Empire .. | (1912) | — | 9.15 | 11.19 |

Kingdom of Poland. In the Kingdom, in 1912, the length of the main railways was 3,748 km., of which 2,377 were on the Vistula line into the interior of the Kingdom, and 764 on the Warsaw-Vienna line. These constitute the most important arteries, and were the first to be constructed (1848). The total length of the local railways in the Kingdom is 153 km. There were in 1912 2.93 km. of railways for every 10,000 inhabitants; in Russia in Europe, 4.2. On the whole, the Kingdom is one of the poorest countries in the world in regard to railways. If the Kingdom is compared with other States it will be found that the railways of the Kingdom of Poland, in relation to the area, are superior in length only

to those of the Balkan States; and that in relation to population, Serbia alone is less well provided. The main lines in 1912 carried 23,866,877 passengers, 45.7 per cent. on the Vistula lines, and 44.9 per cent. on the Warsaw-Vienna line. In the same year 24,258,656 tons of merchandise were carried: 47.4 per cent. on the Vistula lines; 43.3 per cent. on the Warsaw-Vienna line, 9.3 per cent. on the Lodz-Factories line. The cost of up-keep in the Kingdom, in 1911, amounted to 40,436 francs per km. and the net revenue to 22,933 francs per km. (in the 50 governments of Russia in Europe to 18,922 francs.) (See **Finance**.) The difference in the receipts is very considerable on the different lines: 17,636 francs on the Vistula line; 41,287 francs on the Warsaw-Vienna line. This difference is due to the fact that many of the lines are principally strategic. The Russian Government has avoided connecting its lines of railways with those of Austria and Germany. It has, for example, constructed railways especially in the governments situated to the east of the line of defence of the Vistula (governments of Siedlce and Lomza), which governments, from the economic point of view, are very backward. On the other hand, certain governments of the Kingdom, like Plock or Kalisz and Lublin—the two latter having a dense population and a fairly active economic life—come last in regard to railways when compared with the central and southern governments of Russia in Europe.

This exceptional dearth of railways causes the Kingdom to lose, according to approximate estimates, directly, and also indirectly through its influence on the production of the country, about half a milliard of francs annually. This deplorable deficiency has not been repaired by the initiative of private capitalists, the government having refused them concessions for railway construction. Since the purchase of the Warsaw-Vienna line, effected in 1912, the railways of the Kingdom are, with very few exceptions, controlled directly by the State.

The Kingdom of Poland possessed in 1910 73,285 km. of roads—main roads, paved roads and local roads. Of this figure 11.4 per cent. (8,343 km) are main roads (390 km.), 0.5 per cent. paved roads; the rest are merely rough roads (64,552 km.). On an average, in every 100 sq. km. there

are 6.8 km. of roads, without counting local roads. (In Galicia 19.1 km., and in Prussian Poland 28.5 km.) Out of the 8,343 km. of roads, 38.60 per cent., that is to say, 3,219 km., are maintained at the cost of the government. These are State roads. The rest, 5,124 km. (61.4 per cent.) are government roads which are under the Ministry of the Interior. Between 1874 and 1912 the length of the roads of the latter class increased 51 per cent. (in Galicia, in the same period, 94 per cent.), whilst the road tax increased 114 per cent. and reached 4,669,300 francs.

The governments which are relatively the least populous possess the largest number of roads. (Lomza, 25 per cent. of the total length of the roads in the Kingdom; Plock, 18.9 per cent.). The fact that one district or another has been well provided with roads, is due to strategic reasons, no regard being paid to economic needs. It should be noted, in this connection, that in the government of Kalisz, which is fairly industrial, but situated on the German frontier, 237 km. of roads have been done away with in the last few years.

Lithuania and Ruthenia are also very unadequately supplied with railways or roads. These countries (nine governments) possess, all told, only 9,854 km. of railways, or 2.1 km. per 100 sq. km., and 3.82 km. for every 10,000 inhabitants. The differences in regard to the length of the railways between the governments of this territory are considerable. The governments best provided with railways (in relation to population and area) are the governments of Grodno and Witebsk; Wolhynia and the government of Kowno have less than half as many railways as the privileged government of Grodno.

These countries are deficient in good main roads and even in ordinary ones. Lithuania possesses, all told, 58,888 km. of main roads, and tracks of which 2,367.8 km. are main roads and paved roads. White Ruthenia possesses 33,028 km. all told, including 1,757 km. of main roads. South-West Ruthenia, 16,843 km. all told, including 2,304 km. of main roads. In these three countries there are, for every 100 sq. km. 1.37 km. of main roads and paved roads, and 2.49 km. for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Galicia is much better provided with communica-

tions, thanks to the efforts of the autonomous authorities. These authorities have spent annually since 1894, at first 630,000 francs, and then 945,000 francs, on railway construction. The participation of the country as a whole in the expenses of local railway construction amounted to 36,750,000 francs. The capital engaged in these enterprises brings in ordinarily 4 per cent. In 1911 there were in Galicia 2,850 km. of State railways, 1,270 km. of private railways; in all, 4,120 km. The first railway, that of Cracow-Upper Silesia, was built in 1848. The Cracow-Trzebinia-Oswiecim line, which connects Western Galicia with Vienna, was built in 1856 (86 km.); that of Cracow-Leopolis (342 km.) in 1861. Two main lines should be also mentioned which were opened later: Zwardon-Husiatyn (a cross-country line of 749 km.), and Leopolis-Niepokolowce (241 km.). It should be added that, in Galicia likewise, the disposition of the railways has been determined in great measure by strategic considerations, which greatly diminishes their value for the country.

In 1910, Galicia possessed over 15,000 km. of roads, or 19.1 km. to every 100 sq. km. (In the other Austrian provinces the proportion is 34.3 km.; in Bohemia 51.6 km.). In order to satisfy its normal needs and to attain the same level as the other provinces of the Monarchy, Galicia would still have to construct 12,000 km. of roads. Of the 15,000 km. at present existing, 12,183 km. are controlled by the autonomous authorities (Provincial, Cantonal and Communal) and have been constructed within the last fifty years; and 2,887 belong to the State, or 3.7 km. for every 100 sq. km. (whereas in Bohemia, for example, the Central Government maintains 8.3 km. in the same area). There were 42,160 km. of local roads of the second class. The sum allotted in the budget of the country to communications amounted in 1914 to 7,818,000 francs.

PRUSSIAN POLAND

Prussian Poland. The Polish provinces annexed by Prussia are the best provided with land communications. The 12,393 km. of railways in four relatively small provinces—11.7 km. for every 10,000 inhabitants—supply all the normal needs of these

countries. It should be noted that this advantageous situation in the Eastern provinces of Germany is due chiefly to the system of offensive strategy adopted by the German staff. The German Empire in its entirety possessed in 1912 11.19 km. of railways to every 100 sq. km., and 9.15 km. to every 10,000 inhabitants. Moreover, in addition to ordinary railways, tramways and local narrow gauge railways abound in Prussian Poland; the narrow gauge lines mainly serve agricultural needs. Their length is 3,220 km. Good roads are not lacking either. They are well kept up, and bordered as a rule by fruit trees, the yield of which serves to cover the expenses of their maintenance. In 1912, in the four provinces of Prussia with a Polish population, there were 38,195 km. of roads, or 34 km. to every 10,000 inhabitants, and 28.5 to every 100 sq. km.

CHAPTER VI

CREDIT

BANKS AND CREDIT CO-OPERATIONS

KINGDOM OF POLAND

The organisation of credit developed a little earlier in the Kingdom than in other parts of Poland. In 1825 the Society for Loans on Landed Security was founded, which issued loans on mortgages to the proprietors who were members of it. In 1828, chiefly through the efforts of the Minister of Finance of the autonomous Kingdom, Prince Lubecki, the Bank of Poland was founded, a bank which occupies a glorious page in the economic history of the Kingdom.

The capital subscribed for the foundation of the Bank of Poland amounted to 21,200,000 francs ($53\frac{1}{2}$ million florins; at the beginning 30 million florins); a floating capital for an equal amount was created by the issue of banknotes at par. Towards 1880, shortly before its disappearance, it had ten branches, which covered with their vast network the whole country. By its credit operations:—discounting of letters of exchange (in 1837, 13,780,000 francs; in 1884, 182,850,000 francs), loans on raw or manufactured material, and loans for long periods granted to industrial undertakings, the Bank has contributed powerfully to the development of industry and commerce in Poland. In the course of fifty years, and mainly between the years 1833 and 1859, it granted loans for the encouragement of commerce and industry to the total value of 240,108,400 francs (90,606,964 roubles).

Moreover, the Bank of Poland did not confine itself to affording credit; it also founded industrial and commercial enterprises. For a certain time it directed the whole mining industry of the Kingdom and made it prosper: it founded and exploited the most important metallurgical and industrial establishments—the iron foundries of Ostrowiec and

those of Hûta Bankowa; zinc foundries, the manufacture of machines, now known as the firm of Lilpop and Rau; the paper-mills of Jeziorno; the mills of Solec, etc. It constructed also about 1,000 km. of roads and completed the Augustow Canal; to its support is due also the construction of the first railway in the Kingdom, the Warsaw-Vienna line. Industry would never have attained the degree of prosperity which it has reached to-day without the help of the Bank of Poland. This Bank also contributed greatly to the development of agriculture, especially by the loans which it granted for agricultural improvements. In 1884 the general turnover reached 2,695,591,451 francs. The financial results of its transactions were always satisfactory; its net profits never dropped below 5 per cent. of the subscribed capital, and rose sometimes to 13 per cent.

In spite of these magnificent results and the eminent services of the Bank, the Russian Government from the year 1869 began to limit its activity. It placed it under the control of the Minister of Finance at St. Petersburg, who began to prepare its liquidation. At the end of 1885, the Bank of Poland ceased to exist: it was transformed into a section of the Bank of the State.

From 1870 onwards several private Joint-Stock Banks were opened in succession. These were: first, the Bank of Commerce of Warsaw with a capital of 15,900,000 francs (at present 53,000,000 francs); next, in 1871, the Discount Bank of Warsaw, with a capital of 5,300,000 francs; in 1872 the Bank of Commerce of Lodz, with a capital of 2,650,000 francs. In the same period (1870) were founded, on co-operative principles, the Bank of Industrial Loans, and the Association of Mutual Credit at Warsaw, the Loans and Savings Corporation at Grojec (1872), the Credit Association at Warsaw (1870) for mortgage transactions, and the Credit Association at Lodz (1872).

The great development of banking institutions at this period coincided with the progress of national industry (See **Industry**); the very rapid extension of credit organisations and the great increase of banking transactions has made itself felt, especially during the last ten to fifteen years.

In regard to mortgage credits for long terms, the following institutions, based on co-operative principles, are working in

the Kingdom :—(The establishment of joint-stock mortgage banks is forbidden).

The Association for Loans on Landed Property, founded in 1825, with a head office at Warsaw and branches in the chief towns of the ten governments. Its reserve fund amounts to 21,862,500 francs. On May 13, 1914, the number of properties encumbered with loans from this bank amounted to 9,916 and the area of mortgaged land to 2,629,200 hectares; the outstanding debt amounted to 477,479,650 francs, that is to say, there were in circulation mortgage bonds for nearly this sum (principally at 4.5 per cent. and 4 per cent.).

In 1913, 68 per cent. of the larger properties were debtors to the Associations, the average debt being 179.82 francs per hectare on mortgaged lands.

The Urban Credit Associations grant loans not only on real estate in the towns where they have a bank, but also in the smaller towns of the same government. In 1912 there were eleven of these Societies in existence; their aggregate reserves amounted to 39,750,000 francs, of which 29,150,000 francs belonged to the Warsaw Association. The sums mortgaged reached the figure of 582,599,055 francs—389,171,050 francs for Warsaw, and 118,651,100 francs for Lodz.

The mortgage bonds circulated by these eleven associations amounted to 509,040,752 francs, and 9,818 properties were subject to mortgage loans. All the mortgage bonds of the Urban Credit Associations, and the greater part of those of the Associations for Landed Property, reaching a total of about 986,000,000 francs, are placed on the internal market of the Kingdom of Poland.

It may be noted here that, apart from the institutions of the country, the Peasants' Bank (belonging to the Government) grants mortgage credit for long periods to peasants who purchase land. In 1912 this bank granted loans in the Kingdom amounting to 17,900,750 francs, and, thanks to its aid, 36,380 hectares of land were bought.

The Warsaw section of the bank has effected, since its foundation in 1890, loans amounting to 95,585,678 francs for land purchase.

Credit for short periods has been the special business of

the nine Joint-Stock Banks which in 1914 existed in the Kingdom.

| Banks | When estab- lished | Share Capital | Reserve Fund | Foreign Deposits and Current Accounts | Branches |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|----------|
| Commerce (Warsaw) .. | 1870 | £2,120,000 53,000,000fr. | £1,219,000 30,475,000fr. | £12,084,000 302,100,000fr. | 8 |
| Discount (Warsaw) .. | 1871 | £1,060,000 26,500,000fr. | £583,000 14,575,000fr. | £2,332,000 58,300,000fr. | — |
| Commerce (Lodz) .. | 1872 | £1,060,000 26,500,000fr. | £583,000 14,575,000fr. | £2,968,000 74,200,000fr. | 5 |
| Trades (Lodz) .. | 1897 | £530,000 13,250,000fr. | £53,000 1,325,000fr. | £848,000 21,200,000fr. | 1 |
| Industrial (Warsaw) .. | 1910 | £318,000 7,950,000fr. | — | £636,000 15,900,000fr. | 1 |
| Co-operative Societies .. | 1910 | £212,000 5,300,000fr. | — | £848,000 21,200,000fr. | — |
| Commerce and Industry .. | 1910 | £106,000 2,650,000fr. | — | £530,000 13,250,000fr. | 5 |
| Western (formerly Wawalberg) .. | 1913 | £795,000 19,875,000fr. | — | £1,484,000 37,100,000fr. | 1 |
| Commerce (W. Landau) .. | 1914 | £530,000 13,250,000fr. | — | £1,378,000 34,450,000fr. | 2 |
| The 9 Banks possess together | | £6,731,000 168,275,000fr. | £2,438,000 60,950,000fr. | £23,108,000 577,700,000fr. | 21 |

The above table presents in round numbers, according to the balance of June 30, 1914, the working funds of which these institutions disposed.

Joint-Stock Banks. The capital and reserves of the nine Joint-Stock Banks of the Kingdom amounted to 229,225,000 francs, of which 1,165,625 belonged to the three oldest and also the most important banks. Foreign deposits (not including current accounts) amount to 296,800,000 francs. One of the princi-

pal operations of these banks is Discounting. The balance of Bills of Exchange discounted by the banks comes out at 402,800,000; that of loans on public securities at 100,700,000 francs; that of "blank credits," and credits opened against the collateral of public funds, merchandise, letters of exchange, mortgages, etc., at 344,500,000 francs. This estimate gives a total of 848,000,000 francs for the sums loaned by the banks which we have just mentioned in the three categories into which fall the principal items of their assets.¹ The highest dividend in 1913 reached 12 per cent.; the lowest 5 per cent.

Since 1903, that is to say, in the course of ten years, five new Joint-Stock Banks have come into existence. The initial capital of the banks has tripled; the reserve fund has doubled; the deposits, the discounting of letters of exchange, the credits opened, have tripled. Progress has been very rapid, but nevertheless, if closely studied, perfectly normal. There should be noted as a characteristic sign, the tendency towards the concentration of capitals as well as towards the formation of considerable reserves. It is also important to note that the Banks of the Kingdom of Poland are almost exclusively maintained by local funds.

Besides the Joint-Stock Banks which have been mentioned, there were also in 1914 38 private banks, accredited to the State Bank, 13 of which were in Warsaw.

Lastly, there still exist in Poland five branches of the great banks of Petrograd, and five branches of the Bank of Commerce of Riga.

Credit Associations are strongly developed in the Kingdom, and have assumed various forms.

1. **The "Mutual Credit" Associations and the Banks of Industrial Loans**, which through their field of operations very closely resemble ordinary Joint-Stock Banks.

¹Discounting at the Bank of Commerce of Warsaw figured in 1911 at more than 336,550,000 francs; at the Bank of Commerce at Lodz at nearly 495,550,000 francs (53,000,000 more than in the preceding year); at the Discount Bank of Warsaw at more than 121,900,000 francs. Evidently for 1913 the sum should be still higher. The turnover in 1911 at the Bank of Commerce of Warsaw was 11,458,500,000 francs (12,868,400,000 in 1912) 55 per cent. of which was for the head office alone, and 42 per cent. for the branches. The total of the transactions of the Discount Bank of Warsaw amounted to 5,962,500,000 francs.

The first Banks of Industrial Loans² were founded in 1870 at Warsaw. At present there are five in existence. The first Mutual Credit Association was founded at Warsaw in 1872; it was not till 25 years later that the Plock Association was opened; at the beginning of 1900, there were already twelve of these Associations; in 1903, twenty-eight, with 19,289 members. In the ten following years the number of these Associations has almost quadrupled; the number of members has become two and a-half times greater, and the capital belonging properly to the Associations has increased in the same proportion, the deposits being nearly four times greater. At the end of 1913 the position of the "Industrial Banks" and the Mutual Credit Associations was as follows:—

| Institutions | | No. | Members | Share Capital | Reserve | Depots |
|----------------------------|---------|-----|---------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Industrial Banks | Loan .. | 5 | 26,017 | frs. 7,552,500 | frs 3,254,200 | frs. 46,375,000 |
| Mutual Credit Associations | .. | 98 | 49,093 | 34,550,000 | 7,950,000 | 156,350,000 |

In 1914, the 105 Mutual Credit Associations had 52,684 members. The principal work of these Associations is discounting. This as a rule occupies more than half their activity.

2. **Small Credit Associations** in the Kingdom are divided into two classes: those with shares (Schulze-Delitzsch)—in official terminology, Loan and Savings Associations; and those without shares—Credit Associations (Raiffeisen). The latter have hardly made any progress in the Kingdom. The small Credit Associations do not generally grant loans above 1,590 francs, and never above 2,650 francs (1,000 roubles).

The first Small Credit Association was founded in the

² This type of credit institution differs from the Mutual Credit Associations principally in the liability of the members being unlimited in regard to the engagements of the Bank.

Kingdom in 1872; at the end of the 19th century there were hardly fifteen. It is only in the last few years that they have multiplied, thanks to the law of 1904 applying to the whole Empire. Until then the Russian Government had hindered the establishment of Credit Associations in the Kingdom of Poland; it had even gone so far as to prohibit their establishment in the villages, where banks of communal loans had to fulfil their functions. In 1909 there were in the Kingdom 359 Small Credit Associations. At the beginning of 1913, according to official figures, there existed 620 small Credit Associations with shares, and 87 without, with 477,773 members, and a subscribed capital of 36,224,440 francs, 2,556,585 francs reserve fund, 1,504,434 francs in special funds, and 153,655,983 francs in deposits. In the beginning of 1914 there were 872 Associations (751 with shares and 121 without), the number of their members exceeding half a million; the shares amounted to 39,750,000 francs, the reserve fund to 2,650,000 francs, and the deposits to 159,000,000 francs.

From this it will be seen that the development of these institutions has been gigantic in the last few years. In 1913 there was one association for every 17,000 inhabitants, in 1914 one for every 15,000, with, on an average, 676 members (1913); in the Empire 592 members; in Poznań 618; in Galicia 463, and even 208 in the associations on the Raiffeisen system alone. On January 1st, 1913, the loans effected amounted to 166,950,000 francs, 23,850,000 were placed in the banks, 3,975,000 in government securities.

The sources from which these associations draw their working capital are:—for every 100 francs: 20 francs of their own capital, 73 francs of deposits, 2.60 borrowed, 0.40 francs provided by the Bank of the State (in the rest of the Empire 18.30); miscellaneous, four francs. The average interest is relatively fairly high in these corporations; they pay from 5 to 6 per cent. on deposits and receive about 8 per cent. on loans.

The Co-operative Commission. An important part in the co-operative credit movement in the Kingdom is played by the Co-operative Commission, a patronage institution which is very active both as an advisory and executive body. It publishes the "Co-operative Review," pamphlets, book-

keeping formulæ, etc. There should also be mentioned the Co-operative Societies Bank founded in 1910. This Joint-Stock Bank (which is dealt with above and of which two-thirds of the shares belong to Co-operative Associations) acts as a financial centre for the Credit and Agricultural Associations, and encourages with skill and success the salutary movement of the co-operative societies. In spite of urgent requests from the Poles who are the leading spirits in the movement, the Russian authorities have not permitted the formation of a Co-operative Federation for the whole country. At present the Government Union at Plock is the only institution of the kind.

The Communal Loan Banks form a special group among the credit institutions of the Kingdom: they were founded by the government after 1863 for the rural population. Of these there were 1,355 in 1910. The subscribed capital of these banks amounted to 35,658,400 francs, the deposits to 60,001,300 francs. The loans effected amounted to 95,766,515 francs (90 per cent. more than in 1900); their number has increased only by 2.6 per cent. in the last ten years.

On January 1, 1912, there were in the Kingdom of Poland 568 State Savings Banks: the deposits amounted to 188,415,000 francs divided among 416,200 bank books (since 1904 these deposits have increased 100 per cent.) with an average of 453 francs a depositor. These deposits, converted into government securities, do not constitute a source of credit for the population of the country.

The State Bank does not fail to play a marked part in the organisation of credit in the Kingdom, where it possesses ten branches. The turnover of the branches at Warsaw and Lodz represents 90 per cent. of the total turnover of the Kingdom. Discounting occupies the first place in the operations of this establishment. On January 1st, 1914, the letters of exchange discounted amounted to 70,034,200 francs, and represented half of the Bank's assets (in the course of the year 1913, the branches of the State Bank in the Kingdom discounted 768,500,000 francs letters of exchange). At the same time the deposits and current accounts in the Bank amounted to 17,871,600; the net profit of all the branches in the Kingdom in 1913

was 9,540,000 francs. In comparison with 1904, the discounting of letters of exchange has increased 60 per cent., the other loans have quintupled, and the net profits have increased 100 per cent.

Summary. In recapitulating the data relative to the capital of the various credit institutions or groups of credit institutions in the Kingdom of Poland, we obtain the figures in the accompanying table (in round numbers, 000 omitted).

Without counting private banks or foreign institutions: ten branches of the State Bank, ten branches of Petrograd Banks and of the Riga Bank of Commerce, and lastly the Peasants' Bank, it is estimated that a sum of 1,607,000,000 francs and, with the issues, of 2,594,075,000 francs, is at the disposal of national institutions of credit in the Kingdom of Poland.

| Institutions | Sub- scribed Capital | Reserve Fund | Deposits and Current Accounts | Notes Issued | Total |
|--|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Landed Credit .. | — | 21,20 | — | 477,53 | 498,73 |
| 11 Urban Credit Associations .. | — | 39,75 | — | 509,06 | 548,81 |
| 9 Joint Stock Banks | 168,27 | 60,95 | 577,70 | — | 806,92 |
| 98 Mutual Credit Associations, 25 Industrial Banks | 42,40 | 10,60 | 201,40 | — | 254,40 |
| 872 Small Credit Associations .. | 39,75 | 2,65 | 159,00 | — | 201,40 |
| 1,335 Communal Banks | 35,51 | — | 59,89 | — | 95,40 |
| 568 Savings Banks | — | — | 188,41 | — | 188,41 |
| TOTAL .. | frs. 285,93 £11,436 | frs. 135,15 £5,406 | frs. 1,186,40 £47,455 | frs. 986,59 £39,463 | frs. 2,594,07 £103,760 |

On the whole these institutions have progressed at a great pace in the course of the last ten years, without losing their financial soundness. One of the most urgent needs in regard to credit in the Kingdom is the creation of a great Industrial Bank, which would not only encourage industry—as is done by the existing Banks—but also push industry forward and take the initiative in new enterprises, as was done formerly by the Bank of Poland. It would also be

desirable to grant credit for long periods in addition to the commercial credit for short ones. Very useful also would be a bank for centralising and meeting the banking needs of the social bodies of the Kingdom, towns, rural communes, etc., and so eventually the needs of the country in its entirety.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

Landed Joint-Stock Banks. The needs of mortgage credit in these countries are met, in the first place, by Landed Joint-Stock Banks, which do not exist in the Kingdom of Poland. For the last 43 years, the Landed Bank of Wilno has operated in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, as well as in the government of Pskow, in Russia properly so called, *i.e.*, in seven governments in all. In South West Ruthenia (three governments) during the same number of years the Landed Bank of Kiev has operated, extending its activities also to the Russian Government of Czernichow. Besides these two local establishments, there are also some banks with their principal seat in Russia proper. They have divided their sphere of operations in such a way that there is in each government a Polish bank, a Kiev or Wilno Bank, and a Russian Bank.

The Landed Joint-Stock Banks operate, so far as landed property is concerned, almost exclusively among Polish agriculturists. The Russian landowners turn by preference to the Government Bank, called the "Bank of the Nobility," which gives them credit on conditions incomparably more advantageous than those offered by the speculative joint-stock banks.³ The attempts repeatedly made by the Polish landowners to obtain from the Russian

³The governmental banks: the Bank of the Nobility and the Peasants' Bank (see above "Credit in the Kingdom") purchase voluntarily land belonging to Poles, in order to sell it again to Russians, either great landowners or peasants. These peasants are often brought by the Peasants' Bank from the central governments of Russia. The confiscations of Polish properties after the insurrections of 1831 and 1863, and later, the prohibition against acquiring land imposed on the Poles, and lastly special measures of a politico-economic character, have all contributed to reduce materially Polish property in Lithuania and Ruthenia. That is why the question of easily accessible landed credit is of great importance for the Poles.

authorities permission to found Mutual Landed Credit Associations, like those in the Kingdom, have always failed. On January 14th, 1914, the Landed Bank of Wilno had 27,825,000 francs of subscribed capital, 15,531,165 francs reserve capital, 387,740,971 francs of mortgage bonds in circulation. At the same date loans granted on landed property and real estate for short periods amounted to 7,095,955 francs; for long periods, on landed property, to 311,549,900 francs; on urban real estate to 107,437,095 francs, making a total of 418,986,995 francs. These banks can grant loans on building estate only in a certain proportion to the loans issued on landed property. In the six Lithuanian and White Ruthenian Governments, 12,312 properties are encumbered with mortgages in favour of the banks; their area covers 4,655,272 hectares.

On January 14, 1914, the Landed-Property Bank of Kiev had in circulation 301,458,965 francs in mortgage bonds; its subscribed capital was 19,875,000 francs, and its reserve fund 16,360,408 francs.

The lands (without urban real estate) affected by loans on long periods from this bank, in the three Ruthenian governments, numbered 5,068, with an area of 1,358,906 hectares mortgaged for a sum of 211,575,417 francs (after deducting the loans paid off).

In Lithuania and Ruthenia the number of large estates affected by loans from Landed Joint-Stock Banks, established in these countries was a few years ago as follows :—

| | Number of Properties | Hectares | Loans |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| | frs. | frs. | frs. |
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia | 11,443 | 5,189,375 | 390,212,500 |
| Ruthenia (3 Governments) | 7,271 | 2,575,021 | 374,312,500 |

In Ruthenia, landed property is more encumbered with debt than in Lithuania; on the other hand, Lithuania has a much larger area of land mortgaged to the banks.

Urban Credit Associations. In the towns of Lithuania and Ruthenia, conjointly with the landed joint-stock banks of which we have spoken, the Urban Credit Associations also grant loans on mortgages. There were four of these associations in 1909: at Kiev with 70,914,000 francs of promissory notes in circulation (3,353,395 of reserve fund); at Zytomir, 3,922,000 francs; at Minsk, 9,752,000; at Wilno (recently founded), 795,000 francs. A short time after, an association of the same kind was founded at Bialystok. The total of the promissory notes of the four Urban Credit Associations amounted to 85,383,000 francs, a modest sum, but it must be considered in relation to the fact that these new institutions have to compete with the powerful landed joint-stock banks.

We will mention only the principal commercial banks offering credit for short periods, which existed in 1912 (December 31).

1. The private commercial bank of Kiev, with a joint-stock capital of 5,300,000 francs; reserve fund of 932,800 francs; deposits, 69,158,634 francs; amount of balance, 106,468,578 francs.

2. The private commercial bank of Wilno, with joint-stock capital of 5,300,000; reserve fund of 932,800 francs; deposits, 69,158,634 francs; amount of balance, 106,468,578 francs.

3. The Bank of Commerce of Bialystok, joint-stock capital, 5,300,000 francs; reserve, 450,500 francs; deposits, 9,267,000 francs; balance, 30,697,176 francs.

The Bank of Commerce of Minsk has lately been liquidated and its business transferred to the Bank of Azov-Don. The Private Commercial Bank of Kiev, mentioned above, was submitted to the same process in 1914. The Bank of Commerce of Bialystok is about to be amalgamated with the Russo-French Bank. In general, a strong movement towards concentration, under the influence and direction of the great Russian Banks, may be observed. A great number of branches of these banks operate in the country; the Bank of Commerce of Riga, for example, has branches in Bialystok, Szawle, and Dzwinsk.

Credit Co-operations. Among the Co-operative Banking Associations should be mentioned: in the first place

the Mutual Credit Associations which, though backward in Lithuania are, on the contrary, fairly well developed in Ruthenia—almost exclusively however in the government of Kiev. Their deposits in South West Ruthenia amounted in 1910, to 51,240,000 francs, of which 46,935,000 were from the government of Kiev, and 17,325,000 francs from Lithuania (six governments).

There exist in the country two types of Co-operative Associations of Smaller Credit: the Credit Associations so-called, and the Loans and Savings Corporations. The first type is met with fairly frequently, but it handles only modest financial resources. The following table furnishes us with the most important data in regard to these two types of co-operative associations taken together :

| | Number of Associa- tions | Members | Floating Capital | Outstand- ing Loans on 14th January, 1910 |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---|
| Lithuania and White Ruthenia | frs. 296 | frs. 134,945 | frs. 28,211,820 | frs. 21,412,125 |
| S. W. Ruthenia (3 Govern- ments) | 260 | 157,236 | 19,726,875 | 17,549,280 |
| TOTAL .. | 656 | 292,181 | 47,938,695 | 38,961,405 |

These associations, relatively fairly numerous, have only small capitals. In 1910, the co-operative associations in the Kingdom, at that time less numerous than in Lithuania and Ruthenia, had nearly twice as much floating capital.

On the other hand, the State Savings Banks receive considerable sums in these countries. In 1911 there were 688 in Lithuania and White Ruthenia, with 290,115,000 francs in deposit, and 526,000 depositors; in South West Ruthenia (three governments) there were 519, with 198,450,000 francs in deposits, and 457,500 depositors.

There are further in these provinces, as in the Kingdom of Poland, communal banks, but they are not of much importance.

GALICIA

The Land Credit Association. When, after 1861, the autonomous era began, Galicia possessed hardly any banking institutions. The most important was the "Land Credit Association," founded in 1841, an organisation of mutual help for agriculturists who needed credit on mortgage. Except for certain branches of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, and a branch of an Austrian Credit establishment there was no bank at all which gave personal credit. There existed only nine Savings Banks (1870) the capital of which amounted to 15,750,000 francs. On the other hand, small private banks were numerous at Leopoldis: in 1862 there were 84 banks or money changing establishments (23 in 1910) and 44 at Cracow (23 in 1910).

From this time onwards the organisation of credit made enormous progress in Galicia.

At present, two institutions are devoted exclusively to mortgage credit. The Credit Association mentioned above, which, in 1913 (December 31), had £1,096,000 in mortgage bonds in circulation; and the "Annuity Association" (Rentengüter), founded in 1905.

The capital belonging to these institutions amounted to 8,400,000 francs (December 31, 1913), their issues of mortgage bonds to 284,550,000; the mortgages in favour of the Bank to 283,500,000 francs; other assets to 2,100,100 francs.

Leading Banks. The most important of the local institutions is the "Country Bank," founded in 1883 with the help of provincial funds. It devotes itself to all operations that come within the sphere of mortgage, deposit and issue banks; it has a branch at Cracow, an agency at Biala, and 73 representatives. The subscribed capital and reserve fund (15,750,000) was, in 1912, 23,730,000 francs (7,350,000 in 1902). Quite recently the Diet of Galicia has decided to increase the subscribed capital of the Bank to 26,250,000 francs. The issues of the Bank amounted in the same year to 362,145,000 (222,600,000 promissory notes; 92,820,000 communal preference shares; 46,725,000 railway preference shares); the deposits to 39,480,000. In 1912, the Bank's "Portfolio" showed 55,545,000 francs in letters of exchange (in 1902, 17,745,000 francs). Debtors in current

accounts and participations in commercial and industrial undertakings showed a sum of 26,250,000 francs. The turnover reached 183,750,000 francs in 1884; 1,080,450,000 in 1900; 3,118,500,000 in 1908 (25th anniversary of the foundation); to 3,998,400,000 in 1911.

The largest joint-stock institution is the Mortgage Bank (1867) which possessed, in 1912, a share capital of 21,000,000 francs and a reserve fund of 9,600,000 francs. This Bank has granted loans on mortgages for 219,450,000 francs. In 1912 it discounted letters of exchange to the value of 178,080,000 francs; the "Portfolio" (December 31, 1912) showed 22,575,000 in letters of exchange; in re-discounted bills 16,170,000 francs. In 1911, the dividend was 10 per cent.; it had been 13 per cent. in the four preceding years.

The Galician Bank of Commerce and Industry provides chiefly for commercial needs and possesses a share capital of 4,200,000. Two other banks of issue more recently founded are of less importance; but we may mention also the Bank of Landed Credit at Leopoldis, founded in 1910, and having in 1913 promissory notes in circulation for 16,800,000 francs. These five banks of issue (including the Bank of the Country) had, on December 31, 1913, 45,150,000 subscribed capital, 21,000,000 reserve fund, 611,100,000 notes issued, 150,150,000 in deposit and current accounts. The loans on mortgages amount to 472,500,000; communal loans, 139,650,000, other loans, 197,400,000 francs.

For a long time past the need of an institution of industrial credit had made itself felt in Galicia. It was needed to maintain the manufacturing industry in particular and to initiate new industrial enterprises. In 1910 was founded, for this purpose, the Industrial Bank with a joint-stock capital of 10,500,000 francs; of this 5,250,000 was subscribed by the province, 2,100,000 by Cracow and Leopoldis. However, owing to a mistake of its founders, this important Galician institution has been, up till recently, strictly dependent on a great Viennese Bank representing the interests of the western Austrian provinces. The Industrial Bank of Galicia has the right of issuing guaranteed industrial bonds but up till now it has not exercised it; that is why it was not mentioned above in connection with the operations of the issuing banks. Four Banks having no notes in circulation (including the

Industrial Bank), possessed on December 31, 1913, 16,800,000 francs of subscribed capital; 1,050,000 reserve fund; 40,950,000 deposits and current accounts; 16,800,000 francs of mortgages; 65,100,000 in other loans.

Savings Banks play a great part in the economic life of Galicia. The first Polish Savings Bank was founded at Leopold in 1844. At the end of 1912 there were 53 Savings Banks⁴ with 336,719,000 francs deposits, and 16,724,000 reserve funds (in 1890 respectively, 114,500,000 and 7,600,000). The books numbered 331,901 with an average of 1,014 francs a book.

The sums deposited are chiefly used for mortgages and communal loans—258,300,000 francs; the letters of exchange in hand at the end of 1912 amounted to 41,400,000 francs; the securities and bank deposits to 53,988,000 francs. The net profits of the Savings Banks were at first devoted exclusively to increasing the reserve fund; when that has reached a certain sum they are distributed for the most part in philanthropic or social works. Up to the present the Savings Banks have given more than 7,350,000 francs for this purpose. In 1902 was founded the Union of the Savings Banks of Galicia.

Credit Co-operations. The Co-operative Societies of Credit of the Schulze and Raiffeisen type have had in this province a quite extraordinary success. In 1911 there were 2,707 societies of the two types mentioned, with 1,253,809 members (in 1905, 1,203 with 552,456 members, and in 1912, 2,974 with 1,305,917 members). The shares of the 1,648 societies which have published their balance amounted to 86,415,000 francs; reserve funds to 24,885,000; deposits and current accounts to 376,740,000; the balances to 710,850,000 (in 1905, 273,000,000). On the active side, loans granted in 1911 amounted to 631,050,000 (in 1905, 245,700,000).⁵ At the end of 1912, 238 of these societies belonged to the Polish Union of Co-operatives of Leopold. These 238 societies had 350,161 members⁶ and 50,403,000 shares,

⁴The Savings Bank of Galicia at Leopold, 24 Urban Savings Banks, 27 District Savings Banks, a special Ruthenian Savings Bank. The Savings Bank of Leopold above possessed 117,000,000 in deposits; on an average each Savings Bank has a little over 6,300,000 in deposit.

⁵See "Pode Statystyki Galicyi," 1913, II., page 263.

⁶In 1911 the small agriculturists formed 66.6 per cent. of the total number of members, the intellectual workers, 12.2 per cent.; the artisans and industrials, 8.7 per cent.; the commercials, 6.2 per cent., etc.

11,873,000 francs reserve, 130,551,000 francs deposit. The other credit societies do not form part of any federation, or else belong to Jewish or Ruthenian Unions. In 1902 was founded at Leopoldis the Union Bank (joint-stock bank), a central bank of the societies of the Schulze type.

To meet the credit needs of the rural population Loans and Savings Associations on the Raiffeisen system have been founded. In 1900 there were 63 of these. Since that time, under the influence of the presidency of these societies (formed in 1899 by the autonomous committee), and thanks to the financial support of the country, their number has increased with extraordinary rapidity. In 1912, 1,382 associations with 288,551 members (about 91 per cent. of which were peasants) prospered under the patronage of the autonomous committee, and 4,141 communes out of a total number of 6,243, were included in the sphere of these associations. Their proper funds amounted to 6,226,000 francs; their deposits in savings to 68,700,000 and in current accounts to 550,000; the loans granted to members, 69,090,000 francs. The figures as to the loans effected are as follows: in 1901 they amounted to 562,485 francs; in 1906 to 12,180,000 francs; in 1912 to 37,695,000 francs. A very characteristic peculiarity of the rather backward economic life of Galicia is that 83.7 per cent. of the total sum lent to the peasants in 1909 was devoted to credit for land purchase, liquidation of successions, etc., and only 8.7 per cent. to credit for business; the rest to commerce or trades, to temporary emigrations of workmen and various other objects. The highest interest paid on the deposits was 5.5 per cent.; 6.5 per cent. has been received on sums lent. In 1909 the Provincial authorities founded a central bank for the agricultural societies, with the object of regulating, as need arose, the circulation of cash.

Mention should also be made of the Collection Banks for orphans, which devote the funds of orphans entrusted to them to loans on mortgages to peasants on moderate terms. In 1910 these 191 banks showed an activity of 29,820,000 francs.

In spite of the remarkable development made in the course of the last few years by the banks of the province, and the marvellous progress of credit co-operations in Galicia, the local capital and the organisation of credit are still

insufficient. The dependence on foreign capital and on Viennese institutions of credit (and in part also on those of Prague) is very marked. The Austro-Hungarian Bank in particular has a preponderating influence with its 13 Galician branches. The turnover of this bank in Galicia exceeded 5,775,000,000 in 1911; and reached 6,195,000,000 in 1912. In that year the Galician branches of this bank discounted letters of exchange to the value of 628,950,000 francs, or 199,500,000 francs more than in 1911. Thus, this bank has a decisive influence upon the extent and direction of credit in letters of exchange. Apart from the branches of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, there were in Galicia in 1910, 20 branches of Viennese and Czech banks, but the part they play in the economic life of Galicia cannot be exactly determined. This dependence of the financial market of Galicia upon foreign institutions is especially felt at moments of crisis (in 1909, and especially in 1912), when the foreign capital was completely withdrawn without consideration for the interests of the country, thus reducing numerous enterprises to bankruptcy. This phenomenon has awakened the vigilance of the Poles and created a desire among them for emancipation from the all powerful domination of foreign, and particularly of German, capital. The following table gives the principal data concerning the indebtedness of the Polish institutions of credit in Galicia in the last few years (for precise dates see above) in round numbers, (francs) 000 omitted :

| Institutions of Credit | Sub- scribed Capital | Reserve Fund | Issues | Deposit and Current Accounts | Total |
|---|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 2 Institutions of credit mortgage .. | — | 8,40 | 284,55 | — | 292,95 |
| 9 Banks, Joint-stock & Bank of the Province | 61,95 | 22,05 | 611,10 | 191,10 | 886,20 |
| 53 Savings Bank .. | — | 16,72 | — | 336,72 | 353,44 |
| 1,648 Societies of Credit ⁷ | 86,41 | 24,88 | — | 376,74 | 488,03 |
| 191 Orphans Banks | — | — | — | 31,50 | 31,50 |
| TOTAL .. | 148,36frs. £5,934 | 72,05frs. £2,881 | 895,65frs. £35,826 | 936,06frs. £37,441 | 2,052,12 frs. £82,084 |

⁷ Societies which published their balances in 1911; the total number of co-operative societies of credit was in the same year 2,707. (See above.)

One is especially struck on reading these figures by the enormous part which issues play in Galician institutions of Credit. In calculating the sum on the credit side of these institutions we obtain mortgages, 1,153,950,000 francs; communal loans, 142,800,000 francs; other loans, 869,400,000—Total, 2,166,150,000 francs. It can be seen how superior is mortgage credit to personal credit. According to the calculations of Professor Buzek, the average debt through letters of exchange in Galicia reached 165,900,000 francs in 1884, and 368,550,000 in 1906 (in 1906 it was subscribed generally on a term of three months for 1,476,300,000 francs in letters of exchange). The mortgages in Galicia amounted in 1869 to 295,000,000 francs, and on December 31, 1910, to about 2,058,000,000 francs falling in the main upon great landed estates. The public loans contracted by the Province and the two capital cities (Cracow and Leopoldis) amounted on December 31, 1910 (deducting loans paid off), to 186,009,600 francs, a part of which was covered by foreign banks and capitalists.

Cieszyn. In Cieszyn (Teschen) there were, at the end of 1911, 93 Co-operative Societies of Credit (Raiffeisen system) forming part of the Polish Union of Agricultural Societies. The number of their members amounted to 11,895; the shares to 125,660 francs, the reserve funds to 98,854 francs, deposits, 7,231,410, and the loans granted to 7,953,400 francs.

PRUSSIAN POLAND

Landed Credit Association. In Poznan, the Landed Credit Association has existed since 1821; this institution was reformed on democratic lines in 1857, but it is only since 1879 that it has begun really to meet the needs of the peasants. However, it is in the credit co-operations above all—the first of which was established at Poznan in 1861—that the Poles have found the credit which they needed. At present, credit, in the Polish provinces annexed by Prussia, is organised almost exclusively by “Popular Banks” which have succeeded in emancipating themselves to a great extent from the German financial market.

Joint-Stock Banks. There are few Joint-Stock Banks,

The most important is the Co-operative Union Bank of Poznan, founded in 1886, with the very modest capital of 49,200 francs; it operates to-day with a capital of 7,380,000 francs (in 1900, 1,200,000). Three-fourths of the shares of the bank belong to co-operative societies to which the bank serves as a regulator for the circulation of capital.

The bank fulfils this function perfectly, and contributes effectively at the same time to the centralisation of the Polish co-operative movement and its emancipation from foreign influences. This bank possessed on December 31, 1914, 1,893,841 francs reserve fund (in 1900, 272,000 francs); 55,516,950 foreign deposits (in 1900, 6,400,000). The balance was estimated at 68,106,719; the net profits were 351,474 francs (in 1913, 645,498 francs); since its establishment the bank has uniformly paid a 6 per cent. dividend, in 1914, 5 per cent. It possesses at the present time a branch at Torun (Thorn), and some agencies.

Besides the Union Bank there exist at Poznan three other Joint-Stock Banks more or less important.

The Peasants' Bank founded in 1873, does business, not only with the country people, but with all classes of society since the popular banks multiplied. Its subscribed capital, which was originally 783,000 francs, has reached 1,845,000. The balance on December 31, 1914, shows a figure of 14,680,726 francs; deposits, 10,561,762; reserve fund, 489,438. The bank dividend is from 4 to 10½ per cent.; 10 per cent. regularly in the last few years.

The Landed Property Bank at Poznan was founded in 1888, as a protest against the action of the Prussian Commission of Colonisation. It grants credit to embarrassed Polish landowners, or buys lands which it lets or re-sells to small Polish agriculturists.

The Law of 1904, called the Law of Settlement (see Chapter **Political Systems**) has put an obstacle in the way of the Landed Property Bank as regards the breaking up of land. According to the balance sheet of December 31, 1914, this establishment possesses a subscribed capital of 6,065,991 francs; 1,102,856 francs reserve fund; 5,273,785 in deposits. Nearly all its capital is invested in mortgages. The resources of this institution are very inadequate, especially in regard to its active operations—loans for long

periods. It is necessary to remember that the Polish Banks in Prussia have not the right of issuing notes, which makes their operations extremely difficult, and reduces their extent. This prohibition is especially injurious to the Landed Property Bank. The oldest joint-stock bank in Prussian Poland is the bank now known as Kwilecki, Potocki and Co. Its subscribed capital, which at the beginning was 1,918,000 francs, was reduced afterwards, in consequence of the losses undergone in its attempts at the industrialisation of Poznań; it is to-day 1,459,764 francs; reserve funds on December 31, 1914, 214,318 francs; deposits at the same date, 5,854,971 francs. During the last ten years this bank has been very prosperous; it devotes itself especially to trade operations.

At the end of 1913, a fifth joint-stock bank was founded in Prussian Poland, the Discount Bank of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), capital, 369,000 francs—with the object of giving personal credit to merchants and traders. On December 31, 1914, it possessed 382,259 francs deposits.

The five Polish joint-stock banks established in the provinces annexed by Prussia had, therefore, in 1914, in funds contributed by the Polish population :

| | | Francs. |
|--------------------|-----|------------|
| Subscribed Capital | ... | 17,119,755 |
| Reserve Funds | ... | 3,700,453 |
| Deposits | ... | 77,599,727 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | | 98,419,935 |
| | | <hr/> |

These sums are not large for a Polish population of four million, for as has already been noted, the organisation of credit in Prussian Poland is chiefly shown in the co-operative associations, called there "Popular Banks."

Credit Co-operations. The Co-operative Credit Associations in Prussian Poland are based on the uniform Schulze-Delitzsch principles. After the law concerning Co-operative Associations in Germany was promulgated in 1868, there were already 25 Polish societies in Prussian Poland. In 1871, 19 of these popular banks founded the Union of

Co-operative Associations of Poznan and West Prussia.⁸ The foundation of the Union Bank of Economic Societies—the central bank of the Co-operative Associations in Prussia (see above, Joint-Stock Banks) was the second and decisive step in their development.

In 1890, in Poznan and West Prussia there were 71 Credit Associations with 26,533 members. In 1900, 112 societies with 47,890 members; 7,992,122 shares; 3,073,006 francs reserve, and 45,279,000 francs of deposit. In 1912, 197 societies composed of 121,875 members possessed 29,372,047 francs in shares; 14,418,556 francs reserve; 285,717,448 francs deposit, and had 8,443,478 francs of debts in banks.

In twelve years, starting from 1900, the amount of shares has almost quadrupled; the reserve fund has quintupled, and the deposits are six times as large. The capital in shares, in reserves or deposits, in 1912 totalled the respectable sum of 329,640,000 francs, that is, in 1913, it was exactly four times greater than the funds of the joint-stock banks which have been mentioned above.

Attention should be given also to the very considerable reserve funds, which prove the solid basis of the Popular Banks, as well as the prudence with which they are managed. One is also struck in the above figures, by the small amount of debts in banks, which witnesses to the independence of the associations in regard to the general financial market. The interest on loans has been on an average in 1912, 5.6 per cent. (year of financial crisis); before then it was a little lower. Of the 121,875 members participating at the end of 1912 67.6 per cent. were agriculturists; 20.6 per cent. industrials, and 11.8 per cent. belonged to other professions. The capital of the societies comes from different sources, and represents all social classes; that is the secret of their strength and financial equilibrium. It is due above all to Father Wawrzyniak, "patron" of these societies from 1891 to

⁸ It must be noted that at the present time there are in the Union 197 popular banks; 24 societies of land-division; 56 societies of agriculturists (Rolniki) for the purchase and sale of agricultural products, and lastly, ten societies of consumption and production. See **Agriculture, Labour Question.** (Supplement.)

1910, that the co-operative movement in Prussian Poland has made such progress in this period.

Polish credit co-operative associations also exist in Upper Silesia, but they have developed without keeping in close touch with the societies in Poznań and West Prussia, for the Prussian Government has not permitted the constitution of a union of Polish co-operative societies. On January 1, 1914, the Polish Union of Silesian Societies in Upper Silesia, which includes seventeen co-operations, began to be active. They have, altogether, 13,299 members, 1,322,090 francs in shares, 1,807,116 in reserve funds, and 44,203,000 in deposits. It is a striking fact that the reserves are higher than the shares; the deposits, also, are very considerable.

The branches of the State Bank (Reichsbank), as well as those of the great German Banks, play an important part in Prussian Poland, where the latter especially strongly protect German interests. There are also 226 Savings Banks, where in 1912 were deposited (we speak here of Poznań, West Prussia and of the Regencies of Opole in Silesia and Olsztyn in East Prussia) 998,970,000 francs in 1,020,071 books.

It is necessary to mention also the Societies of Landed Credit (Landschaften), which include as shareholders Polish and German proprietors. The loans granted by the Society of Poznań amounted on December 31, 1912, to 456,400,000 francs and those of the two societies of West Prussia to 433,000,000 francs. According to the report of 1912, the loans issued by the Society of Landed Credit and certain other secondary establishments in Poznań, formed 32.7 per cent. (403,800,000 francs out of 1,235,400,000) of the total indebtedness of rural property. The general indebtedness of the rural properties amounted in Poznań to 42.1 per cent. of their total possessions; in West Prussia the percentage reached 52.8; in East Prussia 46.8 per cent.; and only 34.6 in Silesia. Without counting the capital of Savings Banks, or that of the great German Banks, or that of Societies of Landed Credit or Private Banks, we obtain the following figures for the Polish institutions of Credit in Prussia which draw their

capital exclusively from Polish sources (figures for 1912, in round numbers, 000 omitted).

| Polish Institutions of Credit in Prussia | Sub- scribed Capital | Reserve Funds | Deposits | Total |
|---|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | frs. | frs. | frs. | frs. |
| 5 Joint Stock Banks .. | 17,12 | 3,70 | 77,60 | 98,42 |
| 197 Credit Co-operative Asso- ciations | 29,37 | 14,42 | 285,72 | 329,51 |
| 24 Banks of Land Division .. | 2,46 | 3,69 | 17,22 | 23,37 |
| 17 Credit Co-operative Asso- ciations in Upper Silesia | 1,33 | 1,80 | 44,20 | 47,33 |
| TOTAL | 50,28 £2,009 | 23,61 £9 4s | 424,74 £16,989 | 498,63 £19,941 |

It will be seen, therefore, that, in spite of the obstacles put in the way by the Prussian Government, in spite of the hostile attitude of the powerful German Banks, the Poles have been able to raise a sum of 498,631,000 francs⁹ in institutions of credit which belong absolutely to them and are managed by them with real skill. Thus, they have in their hands one of the most effective weapons of defence against the encroachments with which their national life is menaced.

RECAPITULATION.

If Lithuania and Ruthenia, countries concerning which the data are incomplete, are omitted from these calculations, the balance of the funds belonging to tributary societies, exclusively or chiefly Polish, can be summed up as follows (in round numbers, francs, 000 omitted) :—

⁹ In reality the Polish capital invested in the different credit establishments of Prussia is still higher, for the Savings Banks and certain German institutions absorb naturally a part of the funds of the Polish population.

| Balance of Funds | Sub- scribed Capital | Reserve Funds | Issues | Deposits | Total |
|-------------------|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | frs. | frs. | frs. | frs. | frs. |
| Kingdom of Poland | 285,93 | 135,15 | 986,59 | 1,186,40 | 2,594,07 |
| Galicia | 148,36 | 72,05 | 895,65 | 936,06 | 2,052,12 |
| Prussian Poland | 50,28 | 23,61 | — | 424,74 | 498,63 |
| TOTAL .. | 484,57 £19,382 | 230,81 £9,232 | 1,882,24 £75,289 | 2,547,20 £101,888 | 5,144,82 £205,791 |

One year, therefore, before the war, by means of Polish Banks and Credit Co-operative Associations, a sum of more than five milliards of francs had been poured into the territory of Poland to foster and strengthen different branches of national production. Nevertheless it was still insufficient to supply all the credit needs of the population. Capital, coming from richer countries where the rate of interest is normally lower, has flowed into Poland and created institutions of credit or subventioned certain branches of production. The coal mines, for example, in all the Polish provinces, the petroleum fields of Galicia, the textile industry in the Kingdom, to mention only the most important, are for the most part in the hands of foreign capitalists.¹⁰ For this reason it is desirable that Polish Banks should exercise a still greater activity in order to institute new enterprises with prudence, but at the same time with a spirit of initiative.

The gigantic progress which has been made in the organisation of credit in all parts of Poland, and the rapid increase of capital concentrated in these institutions, would then be able to give fuller development to the economic life of the country, and render Poland mistress of her own wealth and resources.

¹⁰ According to an investigation made by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1901, French capital in the Kingdom of Poland amounted, then to 180,000,000 francs (£7,200,000), (132,000,000 (£5,280,000) in mining and metallurgical enterprises, 34,000,000 (£1,360,000) in the textile industry). German capital, in the town of Warsaw alone, amounted, a few years later, to 184,500,000 (£7,380,000).

CHAPTER VII

FINANCE

KINGDOM OF POLAND

UNTIL 1867 the finance of the Kingdom of Poland was distinct from that of the Russian Empire. At the end of the constitutional period (1815—1830) the finance of the Kingdom, owing chiefly to its administration by Prince Lubecki, Minister of the Treasury, was in a prosperous condition (important cash reserves and a considerable credit balance). In spite of the fact that the maintenance of the army absorbed nearly half the revenue, public education and economic enterprises were also comparatively well provided for.

After the insurrection of 1830—1831, the finance of the country was put under the control of the Central authorities. The Treasury of the Kingdom had to pay enormous sums for the maintenance of the Russian Army and for the needs of the Empire,¹ and it was burdened with various extraordinary expenses by the Central Government. This financial policy, in the course of the thirty years which followed the war of 1830—1831, ended in a deficit amounting in 1865 to 35,838,600 francs. After a series of preparatory measures the whole financial (budgetary) independence of the Kingdom was suppressed in 1867, and in 1869 the Kingdom was also assimilated to the Empire in regard to the organisation of its finance (Chambers of Finance, etc.).

At present the finance of the Kingdom forms part of that of the State; urban and rural communes alone have special budgets.

¹ In the first eleven years of the new era (1832-1842), the Treasury of the Kingdom spent the sum of 358,348,900 francs on the maintenance of the armies and on the needs of the Empire. During the eleven preceding years it had devoted to the army only 136,091,089 francs.

The revenues of the Russian State are derived principally from the brandy monopoly and from indirect taxation; direct taxes constitute only a secondary source of revenue.

The ordinary receipts of the State amounted in 1912 to 8,230,680,050 francs (5,365,078,700 in 1905); 2,185,433,800 were derived from the brandy monopoly; 1,967,328,200 from the State Railways; 867,551,700 from the Customs; 338,577,250 from the Sugar Excise.

The total ordinary revenue of the Russian Treasury in the Kingdom in 1905 was 324,492,500 francs; and in 1912, 609,078,936. The increase in these seven years, amounting to 87 per cent., is higher than that of the ordinary receipts of the whole Empire. The accompanying table enables us to form an idea in detail of the revenues of the Treasury in Poland for the year 1912.²

| | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|----|------------|---------------------|
| Direct Taxes.. | .. | .. | .. | 79,709,587 francs. |
| Taxes on Sugar, Liquor and Tobacco | .. | .. | 65,155,201 | „ |
| Customs | .. | .. | .. | 228,318,420 „ |
| Post, Telegraph and Telephone | .. | .. | 25,841,297 | „ |
| Vodka Monopoly | .. | .. | .. | 128,238,493 „ |
| State Lands and Enterprises | .. | .. | .. | 23,788,734 „ |
| Stamp Duties | .. | .. | .. | 45,084,298 „ |
| Repayments and Miscellaneous | .. | .. | .. | 12,942,906 „ |
| TOTAL | | | | 609,078,936 francs. |

It will be seen from this table that the Customs bring in the largest revenue. However, this sum does not fall solely

²The participation of the Kingdom in the State Budget cannot be precisely determined in every detail. However, according to the calculations of Zukowski and Grabski, ex-deputies of the Duma, it is possible to calculate approximately the contribution of the Kingdom to the receipts and expenditure of the State. The results of these researches, carried out over several years, were nearly identical with the accounts of the public pay-offices, presented every year in the reports of the State Audit. Thus we have taken the data furnished by the Audit Department as a basis, while noting that certain figures, whether of receipts or expenditure, do not represent exactly the real participation of the Kingdom in the finance of the Empire.

on the Kingdom, for a quantity of merchandise is destined for Russia itself. On the other hand, in the preceding enumeration based on the accounts of the public pay-offices, the receipts from railways, which are paid directly to the Central Treasury, do not figure. These revenues in the Kingdom, according to the budget of the Ministry of Ways and Communications, amounted in 1912 to 89,580,600 francs (net), and in 1913, after the purchase of the Warsaw-Vienna line, to 218,407,000 francs. The net revenue of the railways of the Kingdom in 1913 was 95,622,600 francs, and should constitute, according to the budget of 1914, 12 per cent. of the railway revenues of the Empire, although the length of the railways in the Kingdom is only 5.7 per cent. of that of the railways of Russia.

The vodka monopoly in 1912 produced 128,236,000 francs; however, the consumption of alcohol is less in the Kingdom than in the rest of the Empire. In 1913, the quantity of alcohol consumed per head in the Kingdom was 5.41 litres at 40°; in Russia 8.49 litres, and in the whole Empire 7.63. Out of the 65,155,200 francs of receipts from Excise, 40,203,086 are derived from sugar; 11,856,537 from spirits; 9,005,543 from tobacco. Other articles are also subject to a tax on consumption: petroleum, matches, and cigarette paper. As regards the stamp duties, the largest sums are derived from legal stamps (attorneys and tribunals), 25,787,600 francs. The stamp duties on land transactions and successions yielded 13,224,661 francs.

The total of Direct Taxes is divided into :

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|----|--------------------------|
| Taxes on Land and Real Estate | .. | .. | 43,187,262 francs |
| Industrial Tax | .. | .. | 31,956,624 .. |
| Tax on Capital | .. | .. | 4,565,701 .. |
| TOTAL | .. | .. | 79,709,587 francs |

More than half of the land and real estate taxes, *i.e.*, 22,760,585 francs, come from large and small rural property; the tax on real estate in the great towns produces 15,841,435 francs; the ground tax in the towns 155,820 francs. The tax on leaseholds brought in, in the Kingdom

in 1908, 1,630,545 francs; in 1912, 2,693,725 francs, or a surplus of 65 per cent.

Landed property is much more heavily taxed in the Kingdom than in Russia properly so-called.

Land Taxes in 1912 (in Francs).

| Countries of the Russian Empire | Per Inhabitant | Per Hectare |
|---|----------------|-------------|
| Kingdom of Poland | 2.04 | 2.43 |
| The 50 Governments of Russia in Europe .. | 0.29 | 0.15 |
| The whole Empire | 0.64 | — |

Compared with Russia properly so-called, the Kingdom pays also on urban real estate even higher taxes, not only on account of the greater development of the towns, but also because the rate of taxation is higher (10 per cent. of the revenue from real estate; in Russia 6 per cent.). This tax yielded, in the Kingdom in 1911, 15,292,355 francs; in the 50 Governments of Russia in Europe 33,751,460; in the whole Empire 53,331,250.

On the whole the taxes in the Kingdom are much heavier than in the rest of the Empire. In proportion to the population the receipts in 1911 come out as follows :

Ratio per Inhabitant (in Francs).

| Revenue from Taxation in the Russian Empire in 1911 | Kingdom of Poland | Russia in Europe | Whole Empire |
|--|-------------------|------------------|--------------|
| Direct Taxes | 6.15 | 3.17 | 3.87 |
| Indirect Taxes | 27.80 | 12.75 | 13.01 |
| Revenue from the properties of the Treasury, Government Enterprises, and Crown Lands | 13.67 | 17.99 | 28.22 |
| All ordinary Sources of Revenue .. | 48.55 | 35.11 | 4.85 |

The expenditure of the Treasury in the Kingdom is high; in 1912, according to the accounts of the Audit Department, it was 371,865,682 francs, 123,157 of which were for extraordinary expenses.

The way in which ordinary expenditure is divided among the different Ministries, according to the returns of the Supreme Court of Accounts in 1912, is as follows:—

| Ministries of the Russian State | Absolute amount in francs | Percentage of Expenditure in the Kingdom in comparison with that of the whole Empire ³ |
|--|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Ministry of the Court .. | 762,148 | 6.0 |
| 2. The Synod | 2,877,267 | 2.9 |
| 3. Ministry of the Interior .. | 31,940,026 | 7.6 |
| 4. „ „ Finance .. | 83,745,274 | 9.2 |
| 5. „ „ Justice .. | 18,808,060 | 9.3 |
| 6. „ „ Education .. | 12,033,533 | 4.4 |
| 7. „ „ Ways and Communications | 78,540,265 | 6.0 |
| 8. „ „ Commerce and Industry | 1,897,709 | 2.0 |
| 9. General Board of Agriculture | 3,796,141 | 1.4 |
| 10. General Board of State Studs | 375,728 | 6.0 |
| 11. Ministry of War .. | 135,116,894 | 10.1 |
| 12. State Audit | 1,752,726 | 7.1 |
| 13. Miscellaneous (Navy State Credit).. .. | 6,654 | — |
| | 371,742,525 | 7.2 |

³ In the percentage calculations the sum remaining to the account of the principal Pay-Office has not been taken into consideration; this sum is not divided according to territory.

The Ministry of War costs the Kingdom of Poland most ; then comes the Ministry of Finance ; next the Ministry of Ways and Communications. The small amount granted in the Budget for Public Education is particularly striking.

Taking the population of the Kingdom in relation to that of the Empire (7.6 per cent. in 1912) as a starting-point of the calculations in regard to expenditure for the benefit of the Kingdom, it will be seen that the expenditure is not in the same proportion. In 1912 it was only 7.2 per cent. or 6.6 per cent. (5.1 per cent. in 1905), if we count both the ordinary and extraordinary expenditure. This difference to the disadvantage of the Kingdom will be seen still more clearly if the total expenditure be divided into productive expenditure (*i.e.*, expenditure which increases the production of the country) and expenditure resulting from the general needs of the State. In the first category figure Communications, Public Education, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry and the State Breeding Studs. To the second belongs other expenditure, comprising that of the Ministry of Finance, devoted principally to the collection of taxes and the administration of the Vodka monopoly. According to this division we obtain, in francs :—

| Year | Total of the Productive Expenditure of the Treasury in the Kingdom | Proportion of the Productive Expenditure in the Kingdom to that of the Empire | For each Inhabitant in the Kingdom | For each Inhabitant in Russia in Europe |
|---------|--|---|------------------------------------|---|
| 1905 .. | 58,822,440 | 4.0 | 5.04 | 9.46 |
| 1909 .. | 80,885,772 | 5.0 | 6.68 | 10.18 |
| 1912 .. | 96,733,366 | 4.9 | 7.47 | 15.87 |

The total productive expenditure for each inhabitant of the Kingdom in 1912 was less than half that of Russia in Europe. For the last eight years there has been no tendency to improve this state of things. If the total receipts and expenditure of the Treasury in the Kingdom are com-

pared, it will be seen that this country is eminently productive for the State, that it is one of the most profitable to the finances of the Russian Empire. It is especially burdened with direct taxes, whereas in expenditure it is no better off than the other Provinces, and is even much hampered in expenditure of local utility. It is true that we have not taken into account, following in this the returns of the State Audit, either the interest on State debts, or the cost of the Navy, which the Kingdom should support proportionately to its population.⁴ But, on the other hand, we have taken into consideration the expenditure, in the interest of the whole State, on the maintenance of the Army, which is much larger in Poland than in districts far from the frontier. To sum up, the Net Revenue (devoted to making up the deficit in the other provinces of the Empire) paid by the Kingdom into the State Treasury in 1912 was 237,213,263 francs. From 1905 to 1912, inclusive, the excess of receipts over the expenditure of the Treasury in the Kingdom amounted to 1,034,535,136 francs.

Finance of the Towns. There are 116 towns in the Kingdom of Poland; they have no self-government at all and are administered by functionaries nominated by the Government, which has a deplorable effect on their administration and on their finance.

The total capital possessed by the 61 towns, for which we have precise data, amounts hardly to 9,540,000 francs (Warsaw, 65.1 per cent.; Lodz, 9 per cent.). The debt of these towns amounts to over 124,550,000 francs; it concerns Warsaw almost exclusively.

The revenues of 100 towns (excluding Warsaw) in 1909 was 10,606,167 francs; the revenue of Warsaw, according to the Budget of 1914, was 39,535,384 francs,⁵ making a total of 50,141,551 francs. Among the principal sources of these revenues should be mentioned urban property and enterprises, taxes on real estate imposed for the benefit of

⁴ It should be noted that the sum of 6,654 francs which figures on our table of expenditure, under the heading "Miscellaneous," constitutes 0.0 per cent. of the total expenditure on the Navy and State loans.

⁵ Taking into account changes introduced by the "Budget Committee," it amounted to 42,556,695 francs.

the towns in the proportion of 25 per cent. of the State taxes. (These taxes constitute about 30 per cent. of the receipts.) Taxes on industrials must also be added as well as indirect taxation. The total revenues of the towns, per each citizen inhabitant of the Kingdom, amount to about 20,70 francs; in Warsaw alone to 46,80. The total expenditure for Warsaw in 1914 was 39,407,241 francs; for the other 100 towns of the Kingdom in 1909, 10,293,104 francs; for Lodz, 3,121,284; or a total of 49,700,344 francs for 101 towns.

In the provincial towns, urban administration, the maintenance of public roads, open places and gardens, schools, hospitals, charitable institutions, and the paying off of debts constitute the greater part of the expenditure. At Warsaw the repayment of debt absorbed in 1914 7,397,472 francs, the maintenance of the town 7,141,883, charitable institutions 5,492,088, water supply and drains nearly 2,650,000 francs, public education establishments and scholarships 1,847,869. Police and the Committee of Sanitary Inspection cost 1,660,638 francs (Warsaw Budget of 1914). The municipalities in the Kingdom are regarded rather as subordinate organs of the Government administration than as the recognized administrators of the towns. They thus fulfil a multitude of functions which usually belong to the sphere of the police.

If the figures of urban revenue and expenditure in the Kingdom are studied, it will be seen that their rapid increase in the last forty years corresponds to the development of the towns.

| Urban Revenue and Expenditure | 1870 | 1910 | 1914 |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| Revenue of Warsaw | 3,726,462 | 27,039,741 | 39,535,384 |
| Expenditure of Warsaw.. .. | 3,913,168 | 27,039,741 | 39,407,241 |
| Revenue of Provincial Towns .. | 2,249,961 | 12,511,069 | — |
| Expenditure of Provincial Towns | 1,843,284 | 11,440,962 | — |

The Rural Communes in the Kingdom, unlike the towns, possess a certain self-government, although it is strictly limited. Their finances witness to a very backward state of things.

Communal taxes are the principal source of revenue in rural communes. The taxes amounted in 1896 to about 7,155,000 francs, in 1908 the total amount of communal taxes (without the revenues from communal property), as well as local taxes of a special character,⁶ amounted to 16,595,768 francs.

The expenditure of the rural communes amounted in 1894 to 9,656,690 francs, of which 33.7 per cent. was for the maintenance of the organs of communal administration. In 1902, according to approximate estimates—statistical data are wanting, even for this recent year—communal expenditure amounted to about 10 million francs.

The weakness of local finance in the Kingdom is all the more injurious because the State does not spend a sum large enough to meet the local needs of the country.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

Owing to the absence of details concerning Lithuania and Ruthenia, we must be content with quoting certain figures in order to describe in a general way the finance of these countries in relation to the State Treasury. In 1907 the ordinary receipts of the State in Lithuania and White Ruthenia (six governments) amounted to 185,049,500 francs (in the Kingdom, in the same year, to 443,027,000 francs); the ordinary expenditure to 259,064,000 francs, or an excess over the receipts of 74,014,500 francs. If we take into account the extraordinary receipts and expenditure which undergo marked fluctuations from year to year, the deficit of the Treasury in Lithuania and White Ruthenia amounted, in 1907, to 86,655,000 francs.

In contrast to the deficit shown in the finance of the above mentioned provinces, South West Ruthenia (three governments) is financially very profitable to the State. In 1907

⁶ For example, the tax for the Veterinary service, the maintenance of roads, communal tribunals, etc. This last tax, which was in 1908 1,191,670 francs, has been included above among the State taxes.

the ordinary receipts of the Treasury amounted to 403,648,000 francs and the ordinary expenditure to 305,704,000, or a surplus of receipts amounting to 97,944,000. If extraordinary receipts and expenditure are taken into account, this surplus must be reduced to 85,573,000 francs.

In the six Lithuanian governments, the receipts of the State Treasury in 1907 were 15.61 francs per inhabitant; in South West Ruthenia 35.19 francs.

GALICIA

In Galicia finance may be sub-divided as follows :—

(1) The finance of the Austrian State, its receipts and expenditure in the country;

(2) the finance of Galicia as an autonomous province;

(3) the finance of the districts and communes.

The Finance of Galicia which forms part of the finance of the Austrian State naturally shows all the distinctive characteristics of Austrian finance. The taxes on consumption are the principal source of the receipts of the Treasury; duties are also relatively very productive. The revenues of State domains and enterprises are fairly large, but only when calculated in the gross. Direct taxes bring in less than indirect taxes; nevertheless, in the form of "additional centimes," they constitute in Galicia the essential basis of the autonomous finances of provinces, districts and communes.

Taxes on consumption fall on brandy, beer, sugar, mineral oils (petroleum, etc.), meat and wine. In 1911, according to official data, taxes on consumption amounting to 74,369,774 francs were collected, that is to say 15.89 per cent. of the total amount of these taxes in Austria. Alcohol furnished 39,190,931 francs; mineral oils, 16,449,761 francs; sugar, 7,506,787 francs.⁷ Monopolies contribute largely to the revenue. That of tobacco, according to the draft of the Budget for 1914—1915, should bring Galicia 52,269,410 francs, with a net profit of 35,109,900 francs,

⁷ The participation of Galicia in the State budget cannot be precisely indicated; for some of the receipts and expenditure are not specified under the different countries of the Monarchy. The participation of each, however, can be determined approximately.

or 4.38 francs per inhabitant; that of salt, 18,779,880, with a net profit of 10,602,585, or 1.31 francs per inhabitant.

The Direct Taxes are as follows:—(1) "Real" taxes, *e.g.*, land tax, 8,412,367 francs in 1911; and tax on real estate under three forms, 12,220,211 francs; (2) personal taxes: tax on total income, general tax on the product of work, tax on enterprises obliged to register their accounts, tax on rent and salaries. All these direct taxes in Galicia are estimated in the Budget, 1914—1915, at 38,964,240 francs, or a little under 10 per cent. of the receipts which the Austrian State derives from this source, and constitute a tax of 4.75 per cent. per inhabitant.

The net revenue of the State Railways in Galicia is estimated at 58,800,000 francs, from which must be deducted 47,250,000 francs more for the interest at 4.5 per cent. on the capital of construction. In Galicia the average receipts of the railways are higher and the expenditure lower than in the other provinces of the State. The revenue of the Austrian State in Galicia, according to the principal sources of revenue, is as follows. (Draft of the Budget for 1914—1915):—

| Revenue of the Austrian State in Galicia | Total (francs) | Ratio per Inhabitant (francs) |
|--|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Receipts of State Domains and State Enterprises | 90,427,216 | 11.27 |
| 2. Administrative Receipts | 8 457 418 | 1.05 |
| 3. Direct Taxes | 38 964,240 | 4.85 |
| 4. Taxes on Consumption and Monopolies (Salt and Tobacco) | 120,975,750 | 15.07 |
| 5. Customs (approximate) | 33,600,000 | 4.19 |
| 6. Stamp Duties | 38,584,298 | 4.77 |
| 7. Tax on Railway Tickets and Lotteries (approximate) | 9,434,529 | 1.17 |
| TOTAL | 340,443,451 | 42.37 |

The next table gives the expenditure of the State. (Draft of the Budget, 1914—1915).

According to this table of the expenditure of the State in Galicia, we see that the sums assigned to public education, to the economic development of the country, in a word, to the progress of the country, are very small.

If we compare the total sum of receipts with that of expenditure in Galicia, we see that this country has (Budget of 1914—1915) a surplus of 124,425,000 francs to cover the central expenditure, that of the army and national defence, after paying the interest on the railway debt of the province. According to a special estimate of the Audit Department of Austria for the year 1911, the revenues of the Austrian State in Galicia amounted to 416,513,680 francs, the expenditure to 308,646,500, or a surplus of 107,867,180 francs. It can therefore be affirmed with absolute certainty that Galicia is a profitable element in the finance of Austria.

| Expenditure of the Austrian State in Galicia | Total (francs) | Ratio per Inhabitant (francs) |
|---|----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Administration of the Country, Public Safety and Justice | 42,088,784 | 5.24 |
| 2. Administration of Finance and Pensions | 45,081,753 | 5.62 |
| 3. Administration and Construction of Public Buildings | 6,643,663 | 0.83 |
| 4. Interest on the capital of State and Local Railways | 48,562,080 | 6.05 |
| 5. Encouragement of Agriculture, Communications, Canalisation of Rivers, etc. | 19,519,031 | 2.42 |
| 6. Public Education and Religion .. | 29,018,116 | 3.61 |
| 7. Participation of the country in the receipts of the State | 20,632,500 | 2.58 |
| 8. Bounties on the production of Distilleries | 4,442,938 | 0.55 |
| TOTAL | 215,988,865 | 26.90 |

Autonomous Finance of the Country. In 1866 the first autonomous budget was drawn up by the Lieutenant-General, submitted to the approval of the Diet, and carried. From that time up till 1894, indemnities, amortisation of, and interest on, the loan contracted for the abolition of seigneurial rights and the allotment of land to peasants, constituted a heavy burden on Galician finance. Later, it was still further burdened by the purchase of the mediæval right to the sale of liquors, considered a private right. The development of finance in Galicia has been especially rapid in the last fourteen years. The expenditure of the country amounted in 1866 to 1,404,272 francs (actual expenditure, 1,215,000); in 1890 to 9,780,803 francs; in 1900 to 20,951,696 francs; in 1912 to 79,158,278 francs; in 1914 (draft of the budget) to 85,109,454 francs, actual expenditure 94,371,208 francs. From 1900 to 1914 the actual expenditure became four and half times greater. Nor must it be forgotten that the Diet of Galicia was obliged to struggle with the central authorities in order to obtain the necessary enlargement of their financial autonomy and that it was not possible to obtain funds except by appealing to tax-payers already exhausted by the taxation of the Austrian State.

The Revenues of the country are derived chiefly from two sources: taxes on consumption and the provincial "additional centimes," added to direct taxation. In 1913, the "additional centimes" added to the "real" taxes amounted to 72 per cent., and those added to the personal taxes to 78 per cent. In 1910 the "additional centimes" of the country, the districts and the communes, amounted to 191 per cent. of the direct taxes of the State.

The allotment of expenditure in the provincial budget shows the wise administration of the Diet, which does its utmost to further the economic and intellectual development of the country. It is worth while to examine closely this expenditure in its principal categories in the course of the last thirty-five years.

| Allotment of Expenditure Provincial Budget | 1875 | 1890 | 1900 | 1911 | Per- centage of total expendi- ture in 1911 |
|---|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|--|
| Public Educa- tion .. | 800,806 | 2,113,257 | 7,072,418 | 26,643,892 | 40 |
| Sanitary Service and Poor Relief .. | 729,544 | 1,673,435 | 2,523,830 | 7,128,432 | 10.7 |
| Communica- tions .. | 2,160,085 | 1,665,686 | 3,345,353 | 6,390,477 | 9.6 |
| Economic De- velopment of the country (improvement in Agri- culture In- dustry, etc.) | — | 1,157,411 | 2,782,910 | 14,900,799 | 22.4 |
| Total Ex- penditure (de- fined or not) | 5,490,251 | 9,780,803 | 20,951,696 | 66,523,987 | 100 |

In 1911, the above four categories constituted 82.7 per cent. of the total expenditure. In the fifth place come the interest on and amortisation of the debt of the country (5.98 per cent.), then the expenses of administration and representation (4.7 per cent.); the expenses of public safety (1.83), Miscellaneous, nearly 5 per cent.

It will be seen, therefore, that public education is best provided for : 40 per cent. of the expenditure of the province. It must be noted that the expenditure on public education and the sanitary service in Galicia are higher in the autonomous budget than in that of the State. All primary education, and almost all the technical schools are maintained at the expense of the country. The expenditure on communications and economic development, in spite of the relatively

modest sums of the provincial budget, is almost equal to the similar expenditure which the State allows to Galicia.

The general condition of the revenue and expenditure of the country, according to the drafts of the Provincial Budget for 1914, is as follows :

| Budget of Galicia for 1914 | Expenditure (in francs) | Receipts |
|--|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. Public Education, Fine Arts, Historic Monuments | 36,773,417 | 4,862,823 |
| 2. Economic Improvements, Agriculture, Mines, Industry, Canalisation of Rivers | 17,350,127 | 8,473,072 |
| 3. Sanitary Service, Poor Relief | 9,726,377 | 3,983,890 |
| 4. Communications | 7,818,007 | 1,140,790 |
| 5. Administration of the Country's Debt .. | 4,916,286 | 171,008 |
| 6. Representation and Administration of the Country | 3,714,529 | 423,580 |
| 7. Public Safety | 1,549,419 | 613,429 |
| 8. Pensions, Gifts and Miscellaneous .. | 627,262 | 105,556 |
| 9. Taxes on Provincial consumption and share in State Taxation | 2,633,400 | 33,715,500 |
| 10. "Additional centimes" added to direct Taxes and share in the personal taxes of the State | — | 25,583,020 |
| TOTAL | 85,108,824 | 79 036 688 |

Finance of the Districts and Communes. There are in Galicia seventy-four self-governing districts. Their principal sources of revenue are the "additional centimes" added to direct taxes, and the tolls of the districts, producing in 1911 a total of 12,648,161 francs. The total expenditure of the districts in 1911 was 22,906,717 francs; 11,409,989 of which were for the construction and maintenance of bridges and roads.

The two capitals, Leopoldis and Cracow, governed by their own statutes, are not included in the organisation of the districts. The finance of these two towns is very prosperous, chiefly owing to municipal enterprises (tramways, gas-works, electrical works, slaughter-houses, butchers' shops, dairies, etc.). The budget of Leopoldis is over 11,550,000 francs; that of Cracow approaches 9,450,000; or an expenditure of 21,000,000 for the two towns together. In the expenditure of Leopoldis, public education occupies the first place, the primary schools maintained by the town being an important item. The municipal debt of Leopoldis amounted in 1910 to 34,492,266 francs; that of Cracow to 37,092,100 francs. In 1911 the other important towns, to the number of thirty, governed by the statutes of 1889, spent 23,757,187 francs. Administration comes first in the expenditure; then come public education, police, sanitation, and poor relief.

The Communes (boroughs and villages) in 1909 expended 22,306,657 francs. Public education holds the first place, then come sanitation, police and roads. The towns and boroughs derive their resources from the "additional centimes" added to direct taxes and from various duties on consumption.

Compared with State finance, autonomous finance is very backward. The revenues of the State amounted in 1914 to 340,443,451 francs; those of all the autonomous bodies to about 168,000,000, or only half. The revenues of the State, and those of the autonomous bodies together attained the considerable total of 508,400,000 francs; that is to say, according to the estimate of December 31, 1910, sixty-three francs per inhabitant.

Table of the Autonomous Districts

| | frs. | |
|--|-------------|--------|
| Expenditure of the Country (draft) .. | 85 108,824 | (1914) |
| Expenditure of the 74 Autonomous Districts | 22,906,717 | (1911) |
| Expenditure of Cracow and Leopoldis .. | 21,000,000 | — |
| Expenditure of the 30 chief Towns .. | 23,757,187 | (1911) |
| Expenditure of Boroughs and Villages .. | 22,506,657 | (1909) |
| TOTAL | 175,279,385 | — |

PRUSSIAN POLAND

The finance of the Polish provinces annexed to Prussia falls into three categories : Finance of the Empire ; Finance of Prussia ; and Finance of the autonomous bodies—provinces, districts, and communes.

The Finance of the Empire is almost exclusively based on indirect taxation ; public enterprises still contribute a certain amount, but direct taxation is almost negligible. Among indirect taxes, the customs show the highest figures, 13.78 francs per inhabitant, then come the duties on alcohol, 3.68 fr. ; sugar, 3.22 fr. ; beer, 2.43 fr. ; salt, 1.11 fr. ; tobacco, 0.80 fr. In general, indirect taxes produced in 1911 31.73 fr. per inhabitant. The exact share of the Polish provinces in the revenue of the Empire cannot be given. The receipts of the Empire are intended to meet the needs of the State, the maintenance of the army, navy, posts and telegraphs, customs, the administration of finance, payment of interest on the debt, etc.

The Kingdom of Prussia derives its revenues chiefly from direct taxes (514,140,000 francs in 1912) ; from State railways (664,200,000 francs) ; from domains, mining, and other enterprises (145,140,000 francs) ; from Stamp Duties (189,420,000 francs). Indirect taxation plays only a secondary part.

The most important tax in Prussia is the Income Tax : it produced in 1911, 464,306,550 francs. It is also the basis of the whole autonomous system of taxation. It falls on incomes over 1,107 francs (900 marks) and increases gradually from 2.3 per cent. to 4 per cent. on the income (over 123,000 francs or 100,000 marks).

In conjunction with the Income Tax, there still exists the tax on fortunes, which in 1911 produced 62,126,705 francs.

In Poznania the income tax in 1911 produced 9,910,110 francs ; in West Prussia 7,499,187 francs ; the tax on fortunes 1,625,981 francs and 1,239,568 francs respectively.

The number of persons whose incomes exceeded 3,690 francs (3,000 marks) in 1911 was 23,200 in Poznania, (4,904 in 1875), and 19,600 in West Prussia (4,947 in 1875).

The Autonomous Provinces, which have a very limited self-government, do not collect their taxes directly, but

through the intermediary of the districts which contribute, according to their resources, certain sums to the provincial treasuries. These sums amounted in 1911 to a total, in Poznań, of 3,262,452 francs; in West Prussia to 2,718,964 francs.

The district taxes are levied under the form of "additional centimes." Three taxes: land tax, real estate tax, and income tax form their basis.⁸ In 1911, the total sum of the district taxes in Poznań was 8,022,747 francs, 6,277,000 of which were derived from direct taxation; in West Prussia 9,066,383 francs, 7,067,966 of which were derived from direct taxation.

The system of Communal taxes, urban and rural, is based in general on the same principle as in the districts. Among the Communal Taxes, the industrial tax is one of the most productive; it produced in 1912 in Poznań 1,086,582 francs; in West Prussia 970,962 francs. For every 10,000 inhabitants, there are in the Regency of Poznań 104 companies which pay this tax; in that of Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) 116; in that of Kwidzyn (Marienwerder) 105; in that of Gdansk 111; in the whole of Prussia 181.

In regard to rural communes, it must be noted that there has been a marked separation between the large estates and the rural commune properly so-called. The latter, from which the richer elements have thus been detached, are often subjected to burdens too heavy for their resources.

To sum up, the total of the autonomous taxes of the province, districts, and communes, amounts in Poznań to 24.35 francs per head (7.50 in 1883); and in West Prussia to 30.01 (12.30 in 1883).

To the ordinary communal taxes must also be added the special taxes which educational bodies have a right to levy. In Poznań, as also in West Prussia, each religious denomination in the towns possesses one or more educational bodies which share the expenses of education. In rural communes there exists a similar organisation. In 1911 these bodies spent on an average in Poznań 25 fr. 83 per child; in West Prussia 34 fr. 44; whereas the contribution of the

⁸ It must be noted that the two former taxes are not raised as such, but serve only as a standard for establishing the additional ones.

State was 33 fr. 21 and 34 fr. 44 respectively. The total expenditure on education in 1911 in Poznanian was 24,132,000 francs ; in West Prussia 20,460,000 francs, or 59 francs and 68 francs respectively for each child.

If the taxes of the Empire, of the Kingdom of Prussia and of the autonomous bodies are added together, it will be found that Poznanian and West Prussia contribute through these various taxes, nearly 281,000,000 francs, or almost 74 francs per inhabitant.⁹

⁹ We give these figures with a certain reserve, for here also, to an even greater degree than in the case of the Kingdom or of Galicia, about which there are special works, the territorial distribution of the receipts and expenditure of the State cannot be given with absolute accuracy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LABOUR QUESTION

IN Poland there is far from being any deficiency of labour; on the contrary, the labour market is too small to give employment to all the working population, which is rapidly increasing. Two results follow :—on the one hand, a low rate of wages throughout the country, with the whole series of social phenomena which this brings in its train and, on the other, a temporary or permanent emigration of workmen on an enormous scale, caused by the difference between what can be earned in the country and what can be earned abroad. These are the main facts of the labour question throughout the territories of Poland. Another fact of importance must be added : the industrial class is increasing every day, and is taking its place by the side of the agricultural labourers, who formerly constituted, if not the only, at least the predominant element of the proletariat. Moreover, the hostile and suspicious attitude of the authorities towards the Polish workman must be remembered. His lot is thus complicated and rendered harder by an unequal national struggle.

However, apart from these general characteristics which are common to all Polish provinces, there are special and local problems which arise mainly from differences in agrarian structure, labour legislation, and the degree of industrial development in the various provinces.

THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

The Kingdom of Poland possesses a gigantic supply of labour, especially among that class of its population which possesses no landed property in the villages and boroughs. In 1901 (more recent statistics do not exist) the rural population not possessing land (after deducting the population engaged in trade and commerce, employed in factories or in special professions, and also capitalists and land owners)

numbered 1,432,079, or 18.1 per cent. of the total population of the villages and boroughs (in 1891, 13.2 per cent. only). However, even these figures do not fully represent the amount of labour in the country. To obtain the total, we must add 407,458 families (in 1904) possessing less than 3.4 hectares of land, and a large proportion of 485,103 families possessing from 3.4 to 8.4 hectares, who are obliged in consequence to try and make up the deficit in their income by working for a great landlord or in a factory. If, therefore, we add the small proprietors to those who possess no property, we obtain, for 1901-1904, at least 1,500,000 rural workers, men and women, adults and children, offering their work on the market. Cleinow estimates the number of adult workers, men and women, unemployed in 1904 at 600,000 to 700,000.

Agricultural workers must be divided into at least two classes : farm-servants and day-labourers.

Farm-servants, engaged for long periods, usually for a year, receive, in addition to wages in kind, free lodging and certain other allowances. The annual wages of a farm-servant, including allowances, may be estimated, for 1903, at 350-450 francs. (60 francs in kind and 14.5 hectolitres of wheat). It was after 1905 that the most considerable increase in wages and allowances for farm-servants took place ; but as yet there are no exact statistics. The wages of the other classes of field labourers, boarded by their employers or keeping themselves, increased about 40 per cent. between 1905 and 1912.

A male agricultural day-labourer, in 1912, paid solely in money, received from 1.59 to 2.38 francs a day, a female from 1.06 to 1.46 ; in 1913 a male labourer from 1.99 to 2.52 ; a female from 1.32 to 1.59. The highest pay is in harvest time (2.38 to 2.52 and 1.46 to 1.59 respectively) ; the lowest, during spring. Among the governments of the Kingdom, the highest wages are obtained in the government of Kalisz, where there is a large periodical emigration, and in the governments of Piotrkow and Warsaw. In the districts where small properties predominate and industries are lacking, the wages are lowest. The difference in wages in the various governments is as much as 100 per cent.

This difference may be attributed to two main causes : on

the one hand, to the want of employment bureaux, and on the other, to the abundance of labour forthcoming in certain districts from small proprietors who, being attached to the soil, try to obtain employment above all in their own neighbourhood. Moreover, the demand for agricultural labour varies according to the season, with the result that, side by side with a temporary superabundance of labour, there is in certain districts often a lack of workers for pressing needs. Labourers for the season are then brought from Galicia, Volhynia and the Lithuanian governments. The absence of any organisation among agricultural labourers, and of any protective legislation or insurance, has naturally the most disastrous effects upon the well-being of this class of labour in the Kingdom.

The industrial class in the Kingdom is increasing, not only in the natural course of things, but also through the accession of a multitude of agricultural labourers. In 1877 there were 85,614 industrial workmen, 205,827 in 1895; and 400,922 in 1910. In the medium-sized and larger industries of the Kingdom there were in 1912 nearly 350,000 workmen, of whom 302,875 were employed in factories, excluding mines and foundries. This figure will be taken as the basis of our calculations.

Industrial workmen are concentrated on a small area—in the great industrial centres of Lodz, Warsaw, and Czenstochowa: four-fifths of them are to be found in the Government of Piotrkow (55.9 per cent. of the total figure) and in the Government of Warsaw (26.8 per cent.).

The four following branches of industry employ the most workmen: cotton, in 1912, 22.5 per cent. of the total number of workmen in the Kingdom; wool, 18.7 per cent.; metal, 15.9 per cent.; alimentary industry, 11.7 per cent.

Among these 302,875 workers, according to the census of 1912, there were 102,940 women, or 34 per cent., employed principally in the textile industry. It should be noted that this proportion has undergone only very slight fluctuations, and these only in the last few years; in 1888 the proportion was 33 per cent.; in 1905 33.1 per cent.

Wages. Five-sixths of the workmen are adults; one-tenth, 15 to 17 years of age; one-fifteenth, 12 to 15. The law of 1882 and that of 1890 forbid the employment in facto-

ries of children under twelve. The average annual earnings of an industrial workman in the Kingdom amounted in 1912 to 811 francs (in the Russian Empire they were 20 per cent. less). These earnings have almost doubled in the last twenty-five years. The most industrial governments pay the highest wages: Piotrkow 866 francs; Warsaw 776 francs (in 1911, 795). The difference in wages is very considerable in the different governments. In 1905—1908 the daily earnings of an adult workman amounted in the government of Piotrkow to 2 francs 91, and those of a woman to 2.25; in the government of Warsaw, to 2.78 francs and 1.72; in that of Radom to 1.59 francs and 1.06; in that of Lomza to 1.46 and 1 franc.

In the metal industry, which requires more skill and strength, the wages are highest: 965 francs a year. Then come the animal produce industry, 962 francs; the cotton industry, 790 francs on an average; and lastly the food industries (sugar, alcohol, etc.).

The law of 1897 established a maximum of 11½ hours' work a day for an adult; that of 1890 a maximum of 8 hours for children from 12 to 15. In reality, the working day for adults in the Kingdom does not exceed ten hours.

The hygiene and safety of workmen in the industrial establishments of the Kingdom still leave much to be desired. In 1912, there were 11,464 accidents (68 fatal) or 3.7 per 100 workmen. The annual pension for a fatal accident, paid by the employers in virtue of the law of 1903, amounted to 502 francs 70; for an accident causing complete incapacity for work, 482 francs. It must be noted that in 1912 the Russian legislative bodies introduced a law, partly on the German model, making insurance against illness and accidents compulsory. As this law was not put into operation until just before the war, we mention it only in passing. It should be noted also that in State establishments, during the period of autonomy in the Kingdom (1815—1830), miners were insured against illness, accidents, and incapacity for work.

Trade-Unions. In 1882 the first strike in the Kingdom took place. The workmen have not forgotten a series of strikes (for example, that of Zyrardow in 1891), which were repressed with extreme rigour by the authorities. Numbers

of workmen were killed or wounded. As the right of combination does not exist in Russia, and strikes are prohibited by the penal code, they had an illegal character and could to a great extent be regarded as political movements. In fact, the majority of the strikes in 1905—1906 certainly had this character. In 1905, there were 3,272 strikes affecting 73.8 per cent. of the total number of workmen, certain groups of whom repeatedly stopped work during the same year.

In 1912 the number of strikes in the Kingdom was 377; and that of the strikers 61,365 or 202.5 per 1,000 workmen.

The conflict between employers and workmen was further marked by several successive lockouts from 1906 onwards.¹

The first trade-unions were instituted secretly in 1891, but they were the object of incessant persecution.

The law of 1906 allows workmen to form trade-unions; but at the same time it gives the administrative authorities the right to dissolve them if they constitute a danger to the State, a right of which the authorities make the widest use, so that the number of trade-unions created during the short period of liberalism has been considerably reduced.

The number of workmen who are members of trade-unions in the Kingdom of Poland was estimated at 50,000 in 1908, that is to say, over 16 per cent. of the industrial workmen (in France in 1905—1906 23.7, in Germany 38.2 per cent.). The development of trade-unions has thus been very rapid, since they have been tolerated only in the last few years.

Side by side with these economic organisations, the workmen have formed several political parties; the most important of which are the Socialist Parties, the Radical-National Party, and the Christian Democratic Party.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

In Lithuania and Ruthenia the Poles form only a very small minority of the workmen. As these countries are

¹ The famous Lockout of the Union of seven industrial associations at Lodz, which began on December 31, 1906, threw 30,000 workmen out of work and lasted 20 weeks. The losses resulting from it were estimated at 7,950,000 francs for the workmen and 18,550,000 for the employers.

essentially agricultural, agricultural labourers are in a much larger majority than in the Kingdom. In 1912, a labourer working on the land received in the government of Grodno from 1 franc 46 to 1.99 a day; in the government of Wilno from 1 franc 85 to 2.38; in the government of Kowno from 2 francs 25 to 2.78; in the governments of Minsk and Mohylow from 1.72 to 2.38; in the government of Witebsk from 1.99 to 2.65; in South West Ruthenia from 1.46 to 2.65; in the government of Kiev up to 2.12; in that of Podolia up to 2.12; in Volhynia up to 1.85. In 1913, these wages increased, but at a very unequal rate, in the different governments.

GALICIA

In Galicia, to a greater extent even than in the Kingdom, there is a surplus of labour; and it is impossible for all to find employment. The density of the agricultural population of this country is greater than anywhere else in Europe. According to the census of 1900, there were 100 people employed in agriculture per square kilometre of the agricultural area, and 71 per square kilometre of the total area of the country; 80 per cent. in the western part of Galicia, 67 in the eastern (in Germany and Denmark the proportion does not exceed 34). According to the calculation of Professor Bujak, agriculture employs 1,200,000 superfluous labourers who, without prejudice to the work on the land, might emigrate or enter industrial employments. The exceptionally disadvantageous division of landed property, and the enormous number of small proprietors, help greatly to multiply the number of wage earners.² 358,776 small proprietors, possessing less than five hectares, are obliged to seek an addition to their resources by working for other farmers or elsewhere. In 1902, 42,804 worked as artisans, 50,115 in home industries, 26,817 in factories, 70,994 in various occupations, and many became temporary emigrants.

According to the statistics of agricultural properties for 1902, out of 3,384,196 persons engaged in agriculture, there were 1,044,023 proprietors, 2,085,136 members of their

² See Agriculture: Landed Property.

families, 3,622 employés, 14,685 foremen, 184,034 farm-servants, 52,696 day-labourers. The three last categories, which more particularly concern the labour question, include 251,415 persons. In fact, the number of persons working as agricultural labourers for wages amounted in 1910 to about 600,000.

Wages. In 1901-1905, according to the report of the Agricultural Society of Cracow for Western Galicia, a workman on the spot received, during the spring operations, 0.84 francs a day; an immigrant labourer about 1.05; during the harvest they received 1.20 and 1.36 respectively: in the autumn 0.89 and 1.12. The money wages of a farm-servant on a large estate were in 1905 on an average 82 francs a year, and the value of the goods that he received 273 francs; or in all, 355 francs in addition to lodging. In the eastern districts of Galicia, day-labourers are very often paid by piece-work. The wages of a day-labourer per day were in 1905 from 0.63 to 1.05, those of a farm-servant (in money and kind) about 315 francs annually. These wages have since increased.

The working day is in general longer in the western part of Galicia than in the eastern. In Eastern Galicia the workers in the fields, Ruthenes for the most part, do not work more than eight or nine hours, whereas in Western Galicia the labourers are at work at 5 a.m. in summer; at sunrise in other seasons. Moreover, the differences between the conditions of paid labour are very great in the different regions of Galicia.

The employment of workmen is regulated by the Public Labour Exchanges (27 in 1913), set up in Galicia by the Provincial Law of 1904. In 1911, 45,784 applications for work were made at 24 offices (35,333 for agricultural employment); and there were 35,898 demands for workers: 31,919 found work, 26,690 abroad. In 1906 the Employment Bureaux established relations with similar institutions in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; in 1908 with those of France and Bohemia. However, the Galician exchanges are as yet far from being a satisfactory organisation for finding employment for labour.

In 1910, there were in Galicia 105,556 workmen in industries and mines (if we add crafts and small industries, about

350,000). Since 1902, that is to say, in the space of eight years, they have increased nearly 50 per cent. This class of industrial workmen, which is new and not very numerous, cannot have the importance in Galicia that it has in other countries.

It is only in the three districts of Chrzanow, Drohobycz, and Leopoldis that we find groups of workmen numbering more than 10,000 individuals. According to the statistics of occupation for 1902, women numbered only 14 per cent. of the industrial workers. (In the paper industry 45.5 per cent.; in the alimentary industry 24 per cent.; in the weaving industry, 20 per cent.).

The largest number of workmen are employed in the lime, pottery, alimentation, mine, and timber industries. There do not exist any general statistics of industrial workmen's wages in Galicia; therefore only certain figures concerning the principal branches of industry can be given. The average wages of a workman in the coal-mines amounted in 1910 to 892.50, or 2 francs 97 a day, if the number of working days is computed at 300. A miner earned from 4.41 to 6.30; pit assistants from 1.89 to 3.36, adults on the surface from 1.36 to 2.20. In the brick-fields (11,070 adult workmen) from 2.62 to 2.83 on an average; piece-work from 0.63 to 10.50; women, 1.73; saw-mills (9,374 workmen) from 1.44 to 2.96; textile industries 1.05 to 6.30; glass-works: skilled workmen from 2.41 to 5.51; manual workers and assistants from 1.26 to 1.89; petroleum refineries: adults from 1.47 to 3.15; printing establishments from 5.25 to 6.30.

In many establishments in Galicia wages are paid by the piece, not by time. On this account there are considerable differences between the wages paid in the same establishment (weaving, brick-making). The great difference between the earnings of skilled and unskilled workmen must also be noted, especially in the districts where there is a large amount of labour.

The working day for an adult in factories cannot by law exceed eleven hours of actual work; eight hours for a youth of twelve to sixteen. In the mines the time underground (for adults) must not exceed nine hours. In fact, the normal working day in Galicia is ten hours, nine hours in

the mines ; eight and three-quarters in printing works ; fourteen in saw-mills, as also in distilleries and bakeries.

Since 1887, there has existed in Galicia, as throughout Austria, compulsory insurance for workmen against accidents. In 1911, the Insurance Societies of Leopoldis were notified of 3,143 accidents and 136 deaths. At the end of 1910, 14,432 agricultural enterprises (using mechanical power) with 58,446 members insured, were registered at Leopoldis in the Accidents Insurance offices ; there were also registered 13,601 industrial or railway enterprises, with 140,451 members insured. The sum paid on an average to 4,023 workmen amounted to 148.05 francs ; to 835 widows, 132.20 francs. The capital of the Leopoldis insurance societies on December 31, 1910, amounted to 7,224,000 francs.

In 1910 the number of members of societies for compulsory insurance against illness was 196,214. There were 67,411 cases of illness, which received 949,749 days' treatment in hospital. The payments of these societies amounted in 1910 to 3,587,125 francs. For miners, there are Mutual Aid Societies working as Insurance Societies ; in 1911, the capital of these societies amounted to 3,255,000 francs.

Trade-Unions have been authorised by law in Austria since 1867, but the authorities often suppress them. Until 1902, the governments hindered the normal development of trade-unions and refused to allow the raising of the necessary funds, etc. In Galicia, the Social Democratic trade-unions had, in 1910, 16,923 members ; the Christian Social unions, with their headquarters at Cracow, had 4,050 members. There were 50 strikes with 8,381 strikers in 1911 ; 649 strikers obtained the full realisation of their claims ; 318 obtained nothing : the remainder obtained a partial success. During the last ten years, the strikers were most numerous in 1905 (11,589), fewest in 1908 (2,859).

PRUSSIAN POLAND

According to the statistics of occupations of 1907. Poznań, West Prussia, the Regency of Opole (Oppeln) or Upper Silesia, and the Regency of Olsztyn (Allenstein) in East Prussia had a total of 1,752,433 workmen ; of whom

594,417 belonged to Upper Silesia alone.³ These figures include the following occupations : agriculture and employments connected with it, industry, mines, commerce, communications, domestic service, irregular occupations. (The liberal professions are not mentioned). Upper Silesia possesses the most numerous proletariat (labourers, 78.67 per cent.; independent employers, 17.64 per cent.; middlemen, 3.69 per cent.); the proletariat of the Regency of Gdansk (Dantzic, West Prussia) is the least numerous.

Agriculture employs 1,044,185 labourers; 595,263 of whom are women. The highest number of workers on the land is to be found in the Regency of Poznan (252,535), the next highest in that of Opole (241,100); the lowest in that of Gdansk (100,288). The conditions of labour in agriculture are very unequal, and, besides, the absence of official statistics makes an exact estimate impossible. On an average in Poznan the annual earnings (300 working days) are—for a foreman, 1,107 francs; for an ordinary workman, 800 francs; an immigrant worker, working 200 days, earns about 492 francs. The field labourers receive a great part of their wages in kind; thus, in the preceding calculations, the value of the gifts in kind and free lodging (the latter represents 100—135 francs) has been included.

Agricultural labourers have not the right of combination, hence it is impossible for them to strike. They are, in addition, subject to the antiquated and unfair law (*Gesindeordnung*) which regulates their relations with their employers. On the other hand, they profit by the Workmen's Insurance laws. Trade-unions are also forbidden and their place is to a certain extent taken in Poznan by the Union of the Polish Catholic Workmen's Societies of the Archdiocese of Gniezno and Poznan. This Union has at present 32,000 members.

Industries. In the Polish Provinces of Prussia there are 546,992 industrial workers (industries and mines); of which number only 78,330 are women; 119,524 workmen, 31,916 of whom are women, are employed in trade and communica-

³ These statistics do not indicate the nationality of the workmen; however, we can assert that the immense majority of these workmen are Poles. There are also a great number of Poles in Westphalia and in the Rhine Provinces. (See Chapter **Emigration**.)

tions; the remainder (42,642) are employed in domestic service, where women are in a great majority.

Upper Silesia has the largest number of industrial workmen and miners (300,913); the Regency of Olsztyn, in East Prussia, has fewest (21,324).

In Upper Silesia, in the coal-mines, a workman in 1912 earned an average wage of 1,334 francs. This wage was, for an adult, 972 francs in 1890, 962 in 1899;⁴ in the building industry in Upper Silesia and Poznań in 1908, 1,134 francs. According to the official tables of local tariffs (*ortsüblicher Tagelohn*) in the majority of the Communes (over 10,000 inhabitants) in the Polish provinces, the daily wage was from 2.46 to 2.77; however, at Toruń (Thorn) and at Poznań it amounted to 3.07; at Gdansk to 3.44.

Workmen in the Polish territories annexed by Prussia profit, like those in the other territories of the German Empire, by protective legislation, the scope and activity of which are very great (limitation of the hours of work for boys, women, and adults without distinction, precautions against accidents, etc.). They profit also by insurances of different kinds (against sickness, disablement, accidents at work, old age) which have existed in Germany since 1883, 1884 and 1889 respectively, and which were amended in 1911. The provincial insurance company of Poznań paid in 1913 in allowances, help, etc., 4,349,425 francs out of a revenue of 7,111,869. Its actual capital is 33,825,000 francs.

Trade-Unions. Polish workmen in the Polish provinces, as also in Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, are organised to-day in a Polish trade federation which was formed in 1909 by the fusion of three federations of trade-unions which had existed separately till then: those of Upper Silesia, Poznań and Westphalia. In spite of the many difficulties put in their way by the German authorities especially after the Imperial Parliament had passed in 1908 the famous clause limiting the use of the Polish language

⁴In 1910 a coal-miner earned on an average in the Dabrowa basin (Kingdom of Poland) 966 francs; in Galicia 802; in Upper Silesia 1,318; in Westphalia (1911) 1,778 francs. It should be noted, however, that in the Dabrowa basin the number of women and boys working on the surface is relatively greater than in Westphalia. This lowers the average wage which has been given for all categories of workers.

at public meetings,⁵ the Polish trade-unions are very prosperous. In 1909, at the time of the fusion of the three federations, they had about 50,000 members; at the end of 1913 the "Polish Trade Federation" had 78,000 members. Its capital was 1,133,562 francs in 1912; in 1913, 610,258 francs were spent to support strikes; 216,304 francs in payments to sick members; 58,223 for legal assistance, etc. In general, during a period of four years (1910—1913) the Polish Federation paid in relief or strike funds 2,460,000 francs.

It is a characteristic fact that socialistic influences are insignificant in the Polish labour movement in Prussia. Among Polish workmen Nationalist tendencies predominate.⁶

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF CONSUMPTION

A new factor has recently appeared in the life of the Polish workman which is likely to ameliorate his lot:—Co-operative Societies of Consumption.

Kingdom of Poland. In the Kingdom of Poland these societies were already founded between 1866—1870; but it is only since 1906, in consequence of the new law of association, that they have shown any marked development. The Co-operative Society of Warsaw (1906) and the Union of Co-operative Societies of Consumption (1911) have greatly helped in the development of the new movement. It should be noted that out of 670 societies existing in 1908, 150—170 alone were founded before 1906. In 1914 the total number of the co-operative societies of consumption in the Kingdom was 1,250, with about 128,000 members, and a total sale of over 50,000,000 francs' worth of goods.

The Union of Co-operative Societies of Consumption of the Kingdom included, at the same date, 290 societies with

⁵ The trade-union of Bochum then held silent meetings, but even these were soon forbidden.

⁶ We must note here that we have intentionally passed over the numerous class of workmen in home industries; for about their condition—a condition here, as elsewhere in Europe, much harder than that of industrial workmen—there exist only fragmentary and defective data.

41,331 members and, in the middle of 1912, 267 societies with 35,916 members. In the 250 societies belonging to the Union, about which we possess exact figures, there were in 1912, 34,787 members (139 to each society). Together they possessed a share capital of 1,589,719 francs and a reserve fund amounting to 649,732 francs. The sale of merchandise amounted to 18,129,221 francs (72,517 per society), the gross profits to 1,971,899 francs, or 10.9 per cent. of the working capital; the general expenses to 1,322,490 francs or 7.3 per cent. The net profits were in 1912, 2,655 francs per society (2,377 in 1911), or 19.1 per member; they formed 3.6 per cent. on the working capital. The members have thus saved more than 663,000 francs, thanks to the existence of 250 federated societies of consumption. These societies maintain 386 general shops, 15 bakeries, 5 butchers' shops, etc. It should be noted that buying on credit is diminishing progressively: in fact the debt of the members for merchandise was in 1911 22.26 francs per head; 21.20 in 1912; and 18.02 in 1913 (3.3 per cent. on the working capital). The Union possesses a wholesale shop at Warsaw with a branch at Dabrowa. It issues a fortnightly periodical, "Spolem." In addition to the 250 societies, there were 97 mixed societies with 15,643 members; 73 workmen's societies with 12,202 members; and 80 rural societies with 6,942 members. The workmen's societies have on an average the largest working capital: 620 francs per member, whereas the general average is only 522 francs.

Galicia. In Galicia, the first Polish co-operative societies of consumption were founded about 1870. From the outset, co-operative consumption was organised separately in the country and the towns. In the month of December, 1913, there existed in Galicia about 60 urban societies of consumption, most of which were founded between 1908 and 1912. At the end of 1912 their number was 54, with 12,128 members; their share capital amounted at the same date to 202,842 francs, the reserve fund to 60,152 francs; the sale of merchandise to 4,741,780 francs, the net profits to 71,172 francs. These societies in general represent trade groups: railway employés (18), employés in salt-mines, printers, teachers, etc. This circumstance, added to the difficulties of competition with private trade, which is for the most part

in the hands of clever Jews, explains the backwardness of co-operative societies in Galicia. It must be remembered also that the industrial working class in Galicia is not numerous, and that only three districts have more than 10,000 workmen.

Co-operative societies of consumption in Galicia belong to the Union of Co-operative Societies, which includes also co-operative banking and production associations, etc. (See **Credit**.) They form, within the union, a separate group—the Federation, which possesses a newspaper of the same name.

Co-operative societies of consumption in the country have grown up since 1882 round the "Agricultural Circles." In 1912 the agricultural circles possessed 922 shops, but at present these have nothing in common with the system of the Rochdale Pioneers.

For some years past the central administration of the agricultural circles has founded co-operative societies in the towns and boroughs, known as "District Depôts of the Agricultural Circles." At the end of 1912, there were 50 of these "Depôts" with 6,704 members and 578,691 francs of share capital, and a reserve fund of 266,588 francs. The sale of merchandise amounted to 6,506,789 francs. Dividends of 6 to 7 per cent. were paid and, in addition, as a bonus, 2 to 3 per cent. on the value of the merchandise purchased.

It should be added that in the last few years a strong current of opinion has been created in Galicia in favour of Co-operative Societies of Consumption. This is shown in systematic instruction, lectures, newspaper articles, etc.

Duchy of Cieszyn. In Cieszyn, at the end of 1911, there were 14 Polish co-operative societies belonging to the Union of Polish Agricultural Co-operative Societies.

Prussian Poland. In Prussian Poland, co-operative societies among the Polish population hardly exist. In 1909 there were four societies of consumption (called "Kupiec") affiliated to the Union of Co-operative Societies (see **Credit**.) The particular conditions of the national struggle, and the tendency to form a strong Polish middle-class, are the principal causes of the small extent of these societies. There should be noted further, in this connection, the lack of

Polish officials, and the numerical weakness of the industrial working-class in Poznań and West Prussia. In Westphalia and the Rhine Provinces there were, in 1912, five Polish co-operative societies of consumption recently formed, with 730 members and a capital of 18,450 francs.

CHAPTER IX

EMIGRATION

THE review of the principal factors in the situation of the working classes in Poland and of the labour question generally, in the preceding chapter, makes it possible to understand the principal causes of one of the most important social phenomena in Poland—wholesale emigration, temporary or permanent. The supply of labour is not in relation to the demand, with the result that wages, and conditions of work, vary greatly in different parts of Poland. This state of things causes constant migrations within the country itself. Moreover, as wages in Poland are generally two or three times lower than those in Western Europe, and as the increase of population is very rapid, there is a great emigration of Polish workmen to the West and to America.¹

There are many reasons to account for this phenomenon. In addition to the need of satisfying the ever-increasing exigencies of modern life and of raising the standard of living, the Polish labourer has also a keen desire to purchase, on returning to his country, a piece of land on which to settle (see **Agriculture: Landed Property**). To these all-powerful motives must also be added the attraction of the unknown, of adventure, and of all the bright prospects with which the agents of Emigration Companies are wont to dazzle the astonished eyes of village people.

Temporary Emigration. Migrations within the country take place generally from East to West. Thus, for example, temporary emigrants from the Government of Grodno go to work in the fields in the governments of Lublin and Siedlce; from there, as also from the districts situated on the left

¹The agricultural labourer in 1912 in the Kingdom of Poland received from 1.59 to 2.38 francs a day, whereas by emigrating he earned on an average 4.40 francs (in Germany 3.97); a female labourer in Poland earned from 1.06 to 1.46; abroad she could earn 3.15 (in Germany 2.65).

bank of the Vistula, they go still further west, into the frontier governments of Kalisz and Plock (these latter pour out a great flood of emigrants into foreign countries), or find employment as industrial workmen at Warsaw, Lodz, and Dabrowa.

On the other hand, the workers of the Kingdom and Galicia go in masses to Poznan, whilst the workers of Poznan emigrate into Germany, principally into Westphalia and the Rhine provinces. The periodical emigration from the Kingdom of Poland, which has more the character of a wholesale exodus, has existed only for a quarter of a century. At first it was directed exclusively to Germany which, as a matter of fact, continues to absorb the greater part of Polish emigrants. In 1890, 17,275 persons emigrated to Germany; in 1900, 119,284; in 1908, 235,074; in the same year the total number of emigrants to foreign countries (Russia, France, Denmark, Germany, etc.) was 268,446, or 2.3 per cent. of the total population of the country, and 3.2 per cent. of the rural population. But these figures, given by Russian official statistics, are too low. In 1912—1913 (from October 1st to October 1st) the number of Polish workmen (Russian subjects) furnished with an official certificate, amounted, according to the report of the German Central Labour Bureau, to 283,395 (the real figure must be higher, for the obligation to have an official certificate does not exist in all parts of Germany). In the last few years, periodical emigrations took 350,000 to 400,000 workmen from Russian Poland.

The number of temporary Polish emigrants from Austrian Poland has been estimated at 240,000, without counting the Ruthenes of Galicia, who also furnish a very considerable periodical contingent.

The temporary emigration from the four Polish provinces of Prussia numbers about 150,000 persons who, for the most part, go to Westphalia or the Rhine provinces, and settle there for a period varying in length. In 1905, in the industrial regions of Westphalia and the Rhine, there were 186,471 Poles (nearly 3.5 per cent. of the population). Between 1890 and 1905 the Polish population in these parts had multiplied sixfold, so that, in certain communes, they

formed a third of the inhabitants. In 1910 there were nearly 250,000 Poles there, or close upon a sixteenth of the German Poles. In certain mines Polish workmen are in a large majority.

If we consider Poland as a whole the annual contingent of Polish periodical emigrants may be estimated at 800,000 persons. The majority of these workmen work on the land and return to pass the winter in their country, where they spend the whole, or at any rate the larger part, of the money which they have saved during the working season.

The workmen on returning to Poland generally bring back considerable savings. Thus, in 1904, those who returned from America, after having worked on the land, had on an average, a net gain of 636 francs per workman, and 265 francs per working woman. In Denmark, the agricultural labourer saved on an average 212 francs; the female agricultural labourer 159; in Germany 185 and 132 francs respectively. Factory workers were able to put aside even more. In regard to Galicia it is calculated that, in the years 1908 to 1911, the sum brought or sent from North America by emigrants from Galicia amounted annually to about 141,750,000 francs, whilst the cost of the voyage and the money taken into America by the emigrants did not exceed 20,000,000 francs. To these American savings must be also added at least thirty odd millions drawn annually from Germany, Denmark, etc. In Westphalia, out of 100 Polish emigrants, twenty send regularly every year from 120 to 600 francs to their native country, and deposit it in the banks of Poznan and Upper Silesia.

Permanent Emigration. Transatlantic emigration, which is generally permanent, began first in the provinces annexed by Prussia. It dates from the beginning of the Kulturkampf (1873), but only began to take place on a large scale from 1880 onwards. After 1896 emigration sensibly diminished, so much so that if the movement towards the industrial centres of Germany is excluded, it is at present almost non-existent. Between 1871 and 1911, 643,861 persons, of whom about 430,000 were Poles, left the four Polish provinces of Prussia for the United States (185,348 from 1881 to 1885; 18,264 from 1906—1909).

In 1873, the emigrants from Galicia to Parana (Brazil)

numbered 804; in 1895 and 1896 they numbered about 19,000. There was also a Polish emigration (drawn also from other provinces of Poland) to Argentina and Canada. Nevertheless, the United States still attract the majority of emigrants. In a period of thirty years, 856,000 Poles emigrated to America from Galicia. It has been calculated that in 1913, a year particularly disastrous in Galicia from the agricultural point of view, on account of the natural calamities which afflicted the country, as well as the Balkan Wars, over 400,000 persons abandoned temporarily or permanently their native land; that is to say, 5 per cent. of the population.

In the Kingdom of Poland, emigration to America began about ten years later than in Galicia. In 1890, 19,323 persons emigrated: this figure has fallen in recent years. From 1900 to 1904, 29,992 Poles emigrated annually from the Russian Empire to the United States; from 1905 to 1909, 48,433; in 1911—1912 (from June 30th to July 1st), 54,244; in 1912—13, 112,345. About 30 per cent. of the emigrants return.

The majority of the emigrants from the Kingdom come from the country districts (79.1 per cent. in 1908). According to occupations, agricultural labourers predominate—47 per cent. of the total number; then come small proprietors, 28 per cent.; finally artisans, small traders and industrial workmen, 25 per cent. Out of 35,648 emigrants from the Kingdom in 1908 (excluding temporary emigrants) 75.6 per cent. went to North America, 10.8 per cent. to South America, and 14.6 per cent. to Western Europe.

To sum up, Polish emigration to the United States from 1901 to 1913 absorbed 484,329 persons from Austria-Hungary, 38,327 from the German Empire, 596,950 from the Russian Empire, 3,076 from the rest of Europe, or, from the whole of Europe, 1,122,682 persons, to which number must be added 10,506 coming from other parts of the world, that is to say, a total of 1,133,188 emigrants.²

² The other peoples who, with the Poles, inhabit the territory of the former Republic of Poland also emigrate in great numbers: Jews, Ruthenians, Lithuanians. The figures of emigration from the Russian Empire to the United States, calculated per 10,000 inhabitants, in the period 1901—1910 were as follows: Poles, 55, Jews 135, Lithuanians 49.

Poland, therefore, exports in enormous quantities her national wealth, her vital and productive forces capable of excellent work under favourable conditions; for a meagre profit she delivers over her splendid labour to the foreigner. In consequence, nearly 20 per cent. of Poles now live outside the territory of ancient Poland.

Only a change in the political situation and a consequent economic revival in the country—a revival to which the natural conditions are very favourable—will succeed in checking this exodus of the Polish people, which is all the more tragic as it takes place without any protection from the States concerned. In the last few years, it is true, a private emigration society has been founded at Cracow, as also a society for the protection of emigrants at Warsaw. Each of these two institutions publishes a special periodical, organises inquiries, sends delegates for the purpose of finding out the labour conditions, serves as an intermediary for the purchase of tickets, the conclusion of contracts, etc. But the task is beyond the power and means of private societies.³

Political Emigration. It should be added that, besides the economic emigration described above, there has existed in Poland for more than a century a purely political emigration, which was particularly large during the terrible repressions which followed the national risings of 1830-1831 and 1863-1864 (see **History**). This also diminishes the vital forces of the country, and causes the loss of those elements which are most active, and sensitive to national oppression. But this long and tragic history falls outside the scope of economics.

The figures for Austria-Hungary are: Poles 110, Jews 74 (the Jews are classified here as a religious denomination, although many of them consider themselves to be Poles), Ruthenes 42 (Dr. Hersch: "**The Wandering Jew of To-day**").

³ In Galicia, the autonomous authorities of the province work also for this object (Labour Bureau).

THIRD PART

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC EDUCATION

HISTORICAL SKETCH

It was Christianity which laid in Poland, as everywhere in Europe, the first foundations of education. In the 10th century there were two kinds of schools—those attached to monasteries and cathedrals, and the town schools. In default of higher schools, the Poles were compelled to finish their education abroad. Great numbers of them turned their steps to Paris, where it is known that several of the Bishops of Gniezno, Wroclaw and Cracow completed their studies. By the 14th century the interest awakened by the problems of science had increased; in ever growing numbers the young men of the country flocked to the famous universities of Padua and Bologna where the spirit of the Renaissance was fermenting.

Foundation of Cracow University. In 1364 King Casimir the Great founded the University of Cracow, and endowed it with three faculties: Medicine, the Liberal Arts, and Jurisprudence, on the model of the statutes of Bologna University. We find this University turning out professors and teachers, and occupying itself with improving and multiplying schools. In yet another direction it helped to spread education. A number of poor scholars, anxious to procure the means to continue their studies, left their benches at the University and wandered through the country from house to house, teaching the children of the less wealthy classes. This method of education became very general, and the travelling tutor (*bakalarz*) was still to be found in some districts until the end of the 18th century. In 1400 the University was reorganised on the

lines of the new statutes of the Sorbonne, and a faculty of theology was added. In the following century the University of Cracow took its place in the front rank of the learned foundations of the world, by the side of the most famous universities of Italy and France. It was now its turn to attract students from all parts of the globe, who flowed into it, enticed by the reputation of its professors and the generous liberalism of its curriculum. Its name is as famous in the records of the Middle Ages as that of Bologna or Paris. The German legends make Faust go to Cracow as the "highest source of knowledge" at this period.

In the fifteenth century Cracow University, ranging itself along-side of the Sorbonne, became the citadel of the Conciliar movement. It was represented at the Councils of Constance and Basle which leaned towards the subordination of the authority of the Holy See to that of Councils. The University while criticising Papal supremacy did not go so far as to revolt; it submitted to the decisions of the Council of Trent.

Many famous Humanists, both Poles and foreigners, were professors at Cracow. Callimachus worked there, Conrad Celtes founded there the "*Societas Vistularia*," which was very active and became the centre of learning in Cracow. In the 16th century, Bishop Tomicki, patron of belles-lettres, and a friend of the great Erasmus, founded a Chair of Hebrew, and one of Greek. Many Universities at this time, even the most famous, were without these Chairs.

In 1473, by a charter of Casimir Jagiello and under the patronage of the Bishops of Chelmno (Culm) a university was founded in that town. It survived until 1550, when it fell a victim to the strife between Catholics and Protestants.

The Reformation, and the struggle between Catholicism on the one side, and sects of Calvinist innovators, Arian liberals and progressivists on the other, had a stimulating effect on public education. Schools and printing-presses (there were close on 100 presses in Poland in the middle of the 16th century) increased everywhere, even in the most remote districts of Poland where to-day, since the loss of her independence, they are not to be found. Many

Universities were founded; that of Wilno in 1578 owing to the good offices of King Stephen Batory; that of Ostrog in 1580. The Chancellor, Jan Zamoyski, one of the great figures of the Polish Renaissance, a former pupil and Rector of Padua University, founded the University of Zamosc in 1595.

Secondary education was reformed and extended. Under the guidance of the University of Cracow, and later under that of Wilno, a number of colleges were founded under the name of "academic colonies." Cracow alone established forty throughout the country. In addition to these colonies, there were several schools which owed their existence to private initiative. These schools were equipped with an excellent staff, and their extensive programme of studies had much in common with that of foundations for higher education. Among schools of this type which stand out particularly are those of Bishop Lubranski at Poznan, and of Nowodworski and Wladyslawski, and in the 17th century that of Paniowce. At the period of the spread of the Reformation in Poland, Protestant schools were also remarkable centres of learning; the most famous were Pinczow and Rakow.

The Jesuits. It was not long, however, before the Jesuits began to control education and to reorganise it systematically, with a pedagogic science in which they had no rivals. However, the spirit of dialectics and religious polemics dominated all their institutions. They tended to intolerance, sought to repress independent ideas, and flattered caste sentiment among the nobility. Education, reserved almost exclusively for this caste, was reduced to the teaching of Latin and rhetoric to the detriment of practical knowledge. Hence a slow but steady decadence in education. The new universities founded in the 17th century—at Kiev (1615), at Lwów (1661)—were powerless to remedy this state of things. After the brilliant period of the 16th century education in town schools, and to a certain extent in rural schools also (owing to the preponderance of the nobility), began to decline, and was kept alive with difficulty only in a few places.

Until the middle of the 18th century in Poland, as elsewhere, the Jesuits controlled public education, which had

now become a mere shadow. However, from France and from Italy there came regenerating influences, and the College which King Stanislaw Leszczynski founded at Lunéville for young Polish nobles broke with worn-out traditions and adopted new principles. Soon after the Piarist monks, under the direction of Konarski, founded boarding-schools and colleges on progressive lines (from 1740), the success of which compelled the Jesuits to modify their scholastic programme. In 1746 Bishop Zaluski founded a public library at Warsaw.

The blow dealt by the First Partition made all patriots realise the urgent need of improving education. They took it in hand immediately. The funds produced by the liquidation of property belonging to the Society of Jesus were handed over to a special Commission of Education (1773). The members of this Commission, Chreptowicz, J. Potocki, Piramowicz, Kollontaj and others, imbued with the characteristic ideas of their age, drew up a scheme of national education which, while taking the needs of practical life into account, had for its aim the highest civic and moral culture.

The Education Commission. At the instigation of the Education Commission, Hugo Kollontaj undertook the reform of the Universities of Cracow and Wilno. These institutions were put on a new basis under the title of "Principal Schools," and became instruments for the control and supervision of public education in their respective provinces under the direction of the Education Commission.

This Commission—the first Ministry of Public Education in Europe—reformed all schools, primary, secondary, and higher, and introduced a system of education based on the new ideas of the Encyclopædists. A Society for the Publication of Elementary Books made it its business to supply the pupils with good manuals. It was at the request of this Society that Condillac wrote his "Logic" and the Swiss author Lhuiller a "Treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry" for Polish schools. Nor must we forget the Cadet Corps founded by King Stanislas-Augustus, which under the direction of Prince A. Czartoryski, was able, thanks to its admirable organisation, not only to educate future officers

in the subjects necessary to their profession, but also to inculcate ideas of progress and patriotism. It was this school which gave Poland men like Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz.

In the educational sphere Poland was at that time in the van of the most enlightened nations. France of the Revolution had to wait five years for the same reform (and then in 1795 received it incomplete), which Poland had accomplished in 1775. (See Grappin : *Le Premier ministre de l'Industrie Publique*, Paris, 1915). The Ministers of Education in Russia and Prussia had a great admiration for Polish schools and advised their governments to take them as models.

Under the beneficent influence of the Education Commission a new spirit began to animate public education, spreading patriotic and humanitarian ideas throughout the land. But envious neighbours would not allow reform in Poland : in 1795 the Third Partition of the Republic was accomplished.

The Prussian Government in the provinces which came under its rule suppressed the majority of primary schools, and Germanised the rest for the special benefit of German colonists. Austria adopted the same policy of Germanisation towards her new subjects. After the First Partition (1772) she closed the University of Zamosc, and for some years Lwów (Leopolis) suffered the same fate. When it was re-opened in 1784 it was transformed into a German university. It did not recover its former character of a purely Polish University until the middle of the 19th century.

In Russia, at the beginning of the reign of Alexander I Prince A. Czartoryski was appointed "Curator" of the schools in Lithuania and Ruthenia. Under this enlightened and energetic director (1803—1824) public education made great strides in these provinces, thanks to the tolerant system of government which they enjoyed. The University of Wilno under its Rectors, Sniadecki and Malewski, became renowned for its learning throughout Europe, and supervised Polish education in these provinces with much wisdom. In 1805 Czacki founded at Krzemieniec the

excellent "Wolhynian College" as a school for advanced studies.

The brilliant traditions of the Education Commission were, however, not forgotten. The defeat of Prussia in 1807 led to the formation of the Duchy of Warsaw, and the Commission was then restored under the title of "Department of Education." Polish education began to recover in spite of peculiarly difficult financial and political conditions. From 1808 on the initiative of the minister, Potocki, primary education was made compulsory. In 1808 the School of Law was founded at Warsaw. After the creation of the Kingdom of Poland at the Congress of Vienna the University of Warsaw was opened. In 1826 the Polytechnic School and the School of Mines were established at Kielce.

Suppression of the Polish Language in Schools. Until 1831 in all the schools throughout Lithuania and Ruthenia the language in general use, the administration and the teaching staffs were all Polish. But in 1824 the Curator of Lithuania, Prince Czartoryski, a Pole, was replaced by Nowosiltzoff, a Russian, who at once began to persecute the Polish element. Hundreds of young men belonging to the students' clubs (known as "Philaretes") were imprisoned, deported to Russia, or forcibly enlisted in the army as private soldiers in punishment of "their criminal notions regarding the absurd dream of Polish nationality" (text of the indictment). At this time the period of military service was twenty-five years.

After the revolution of 1850 all the higher schools in the Kingdom, Lithuania and Ruthenia, were closed; and all education in the two last provinces was Russified. In 1839 secondary education in the Kingdom suffered the same fate. The faculty of medicine at Wilno University, which by 1832 had developed into a school of medicine and surgery, with Latin as the language of instruction, was suppressed in 1842.

In 1857, after the Crimean War, a School of Surgery and Medicine was opened at Warsaw. During the brief period of autonomy (1860—63) public education made rapid progress. The School of Higher Studies (Szkola Glowna) founded by the Marquis Wielopolski with the zealous support of Mianowski, had a great influence upon this

progress. Soon, however, the policy of denationalisation and persecution was revived. In 1869 the Polish language was banished from higher schools, and allowed in primary and secondary schools only as an optional subject—an auxiliary language. From that time Polish could be taught only in secret and at the risk of severe penalties; thus education in Poland both as regards quality and quantity declined at an alarming rate.

The accompanying table shows this clearly. The Polish provinces which fell to Prussia at the Partition (about 150,000 square km.) had in 1806 146 primary schools with 3,550 pupils, that is, one school for every 14,583 inhabitants.

| | Year | Schools | Pupils | Number of Inhabitants per school |
|---|------|--------------------|---------|--|
| Independent Duchy of Warsaw | 1814 | 1,449 | 44,670 | 2,481 |
| Kingdom of Poland (attached to Russia, but with a Polish Government) .. | 1820 | 1,222 | 37,623 | 2,881 |
| Kingdom of Poland under the Russian Government .. | 1860 | 643 | 35,474 | 7,527 |
| Kingdom of Poland (Polish autonomous Government) | 1863 | 1,040 | 63,075 | 4,780 |
| Kingdom of Poland (Russian Government) | 1910 | 4,293 ¹ | 270,916 | 2,906 |

Secondary education followed much the same course. After the first Partition, the Republic of Poland still possessed (1782) 95 secondary schools in its diminished territories. If in the fragment of Poland which after the Congress of Vienna was called "The Kingdom," we include only the Polish pupils attending secondary schools whose

¹ State schools including Orthodox parish schools.

diplomas were recognised by the State, we get the following figures :

| | Year | Schools | Pupils | Ratio of pupils to male population |
|--|------|---------|--------|------------------------------------|
| Independent Poland | 1782 | 24 | 5,541 | 1 in 220 |
| Kingdom of Poland (attached to Russia, but with a Polish Government) | 1820 | 36 | 10,000 | 1 in 130 |
| Kingdom of Poland under the Russian Government .. | 1849 | 34 | 6,700 | 1 in 270 |
| Kingdom of Poland (Polish autonomous Government) .. | 1862 | 36 | 9,600 | 1 in 195 |
| Kingdom of Poland (Russian Government) | 1910 | 45 | 7,083 | 1 in 670 |

Thanks to its autonomous government, Galicia, with a population inferior to that of the Kingdom by more than a third, had in 1910 87 secondary schools with 25,265 pupils, or 1 pupil for every 85 males.

Higher Education was very well distributed in ancient Poland. At the end of the 17th century it possessed four universities in a population of six to seven millions. To-day in the same territories, with a population of fifty millions, there are only three, two of which are Polish and in Galicia. During the 19th century, a Russian Polytechnic School, a Russian School of Agriculture, and a Russian Veterinary College were founded in the Kingdom.

The Russian Revolution of 1905 partly upset this system. Polish students demanded that education should once more become Polish, and boycotted the University and the secondary Russian schools in the Kingdom. For lack of students, the University and the Polytechnic came to a standstill in 1906. The government, to hide the results of the boycott, filled these establishments with Orthodox seminarists, and students without the certificates required

until then for admission. To sum up, whereas in 1904 there were 1,100 Poles at Warsaw University, in 1913 there were only 293. On leaving the secondary schools, the great majority of Polish students henceforth went elsewhere for higher education. The greater number entered the Polish universities of Galicia, but a good number (about 3,000) were dispersed throughout the universities of Europe, notably in Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Germany.

In June, 1905, by order of the Emperor, the Ministerial Council permitted the opening of private Polish schools in the Kingdom, but their diplomas were not officially recognised, and they were still obliged to teach certain subjects in Russian. These schools, regarded by the bureaucracy as a *malum necessarium*, were the object of continual persecution. Nevertheless in a few years 180,000 boys and girls were educated in 1,074 private Polish schools.

Prussian Poland, after 1815, enjoyed a liberal administration. Polish schools increased. Education spread everywhere. The persecutions undergone by the Kingdom after 1831 led to an emigration of intellectuals who found a refuge at Paris or at Poznan (Posen). But from the middle of the 19th century the toleration of the Government gave place to severity. Education was radically Germanised. At the present time not only has the Polish private school been suppressed, but religious instruction has to be given in German, and the teaching of Polish outside the family is severely punished. As a consequence of those measures, and in spite of the corporal punishment inflicted on the pupils (Wreschen-Wrzesnia, 1901), an indignant protest was organised, and 100,000 Polish children went on strike (1906—7). The Prussian Government suppressed this agitation with uncompromising severity, but not without great difficulty, and after having spent long months in checking it.

In Galicia until 1869 nearly all the schools were Germanised; but after the constitutional epoch the Poles, like other nationalities in the Austrian Empire, began to enjoy considerable liberty in the domain of education, which enabled them to make substantial progress. During the 19th century three Polish higher schools were founded in Galicia: the Polytechnic (1844), the Veterinary College

at Lwów; the Agricultural College at Dublany. (For further details concerning the fruitful activities of these schools and of the Galician universities at Cracow and Lwów see **History** and **Science**.)

In Cieszyn (Teschen) although the great majority of the population is Polish, the schools were until 1848 Czech or German. In 1850 the claims of the Polish language in these schools began to be considered. From this date the Polish population, chiefly composed of agricultural and industrial elements, began an obstinate struggle to obtain the rights denied them by the Diet, where German and Czech influences predominated.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

Before studying the following data, it ought to be remembered that in Prussian Poland the language of instruction is exclusively German in all schools, both private and public. In the Russian Empire—the Kingdom of Poland—Russian is the sole language of instruction in government schools, while Polish is the language for the majority of subjects taught in private schools; in Lithuania and Ruthenia, the Polish language and Polish schools are prohibited. In Galicia Polish and Ruthenian are employed in primary and secondary schools, and all the higher schools there are Polish. (See “Public Education” under **Administration**.)

In Prussia and Austria elementary education is compulsory. This is not the case in Russia.

It is best to begin the comparative statistics² for public education with the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia. The figures concerning them are the most complete, and the Polish language is admitted in education, either partially as in the Kingdom, or generally, as the ordinary language of the country, as in Galicia.

²These statistics are based exclusively on data derived from official documents—Russian, Austrian, Prussian and Galician. (For details see **Bibliography**.) The sex of the pupils is not specified.

Primary Education

| | Population (1911) | Schools | Pupils | Teachers | Number of inhabi- tants to each school | Number of pupils to each 1,000 inhabi- tants |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---|---|
| Kingdom of Poland | 12,476,000 | 5,091 | 359,034 | 6,546 | 1,450.6 | 28.8 |
| Galicia . . | 8,025,000 | 5,661 | 1,248,248 | 15,855 | 1,417.7 | 155.5 |

This table covers popular elementary education in towns and villages, whether public, denominational or private. Only those schools which were working at the date given are included. The figures as to pupils include only those who were taking the full course. We have not included Sunday schools, nor Jewish denominational schools ("Kheders") because of their exclusively religious character. In 1913 there were in the Kingdom 3,213 "Kheders" with about 40,000 pupils; in Lithuania and Ruthenia in 1911 about 1,820, with nearly 44,000 pupils.

In the schools are included 395 Orthodox schools with 14,759 pupils; 144 Jewish schools (not "Kheder") and 798 private denominational schools (not Orthodox) with 88,118 pupils.

Secondary Education

(Gymnasia, Colleges, High Schools, Normal Schools, with Certificates recognised by the Government)

| | Population | Schools | Pupils | Teachers | Number of inhabi- tants to each school | Number of pupils to each 1,000 inhabi- tants |
|----------------------|------------|---------|--------|----------|---|---|
| Kingdom of Poland | 12,476,000 | 92 | 26,209 | 1,117 | 135,609 | 2.1 |
| Galicia . . | 8,025,000 | 130 | 46,009 | 2,572 | 61,736 | 5.7 |

In the Kingdom there are also 206 Polish secondary schools not recognised by the State gymnasia or colleges, pro-gymnasia, "Real" schools, with 34,500 pupils. (See **Conclusion.**) We are taking into consideration general secondary education, public or private, only when it enjoys the same rights as in State schools. Private institutions without these rights are the object of special mention under **Private Polish Enterprise.**

Technical Education

Elementary and Secondary. (Certificates recognised by the Government)

| | Population | Schools | Pupils | Teachers | Number of inhabitants to each school | Number of Pupils to each 1,000 inhabitants |
|-------------------|------------|------------------|--------|----------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Kingdom of Poland | 12,476,000 | 16 ³ | 3,441 | 235 | 779,790 | 0.26 |
| Galicia .. | 8,025,000 | 153 ⁴ | 14,591 | 1,095 | 52,455 | 1.81 |

In this table are included elementary schools, or special secondary schools, whether of the State or Province, and Private Schools which have State recognition. They consist of technical schools—agricultural, commercial and industrial, and schools of applied arts, and sanitation. Training colleges, ecclesiastical seminaries and military schools are not included. Temporary courses of instruction are not included among permanent continuation classes.

³ In addition to these sixteen schools, whose certificates are recognised by the Government (eleven among them are subsidised by the State), there are 196 private Polish schools with 21,576 pupils.

⁴ In addition there were in 1907—8 in Galicia 216 technical schools, or special private schools of different types with 17,453 pupils and 1,935 teachers. Their certificates are not recognised by the Government.

Higher Education

| | | Population | Schools | Pupils | Teachers | Pupils per 1,000 inhabitants |
|-------------------------|--|------------|----------------|--------|----------|------------------------------------|
| Kingdom of Poland .. | | 12,476,000 | 5 ⁵ | 4,010 | 233 | 0.22 |
| Galiccia .. | | 8,025,000 | 9 ⁶ | 11,480 | 647 | 1.43 |

In addition the Kingdom has seven private Polish institutions for higher education with 1,443 students of both sexes. Their diplomas are not recognised by the Government. They comprise courses in Science, Industry and Agriculture at Warsaw; Technical Schools at Wawelberg and Rotwand; the Zielinski Advanced Commercial Courses; also courses in Pedagogy, Science, and Commerce for women; Polytechnic courses at Lodz.

Public Education Budget

(Not including the cost of higher education)

| | | Population | Total expenditure, in francs | Expenditure per pupil | Expenditure per inhabitant |
|-------------------------|--|------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Kingdom of Poland .. | | 12,476,000 | 16,398,000 | 37.2 | 1.31 |
| Galiccia .. | | 8,025,000 | 42,736,000 | 32.2 | 5.32 |

⁵ The University, the Polytechnic, Higher Education Courses for Women, Veterinary College at Warsaw, Agricultural College at Pulawy (Nowo-Alexandria). All these institutions have been Russified by the Government.

⁶ At Cracow the University with a faculty of Agriculture (autonomous), the Academy of Fine Arts and the Academy of Commerce; at Leopold (Lwów) the University, the Polytechnic Veterinary College and the School of Forestry; at Dublany the Agricultural College: all these institutions are Polish. A certain number of Chairs at Lwów University are reserved for Ruthenians. In 1913 it was decided to found an Academy of Mines at Cracow.

The above budget includes Government expenditure [excluding the cost of higher education], and that of the towns, communes, and certain public funds controlled by the Government in the Kingdom of Poland. In Galicia the expenditure of the autonomous government is included.

In considering the condition of public education in that part of ancient Poland annexed by Prussia, it is only fair to recall a fact of common knowledge, namely, that the German system of education is in many respects a model one. It is none the less a political instrument calculated to destroy the very soul of the Polish nation. It excludes Polish, and in spirit as in form is hostile and alien to the Polish population. In the four provinces where this population is in a majority, or in an imposing minority, that is, in the Grand Duchy of Poznań, in East and West Prussia, and in Silesia, there were in 1910—11 13,501 primary schools to 11,084,000 inhabitants, with 1,980,418 pupils, and 31,976 teachers; or one school to 821 inhabitants, and 179 pupils to 1,000 inhabitants. There were 422 secondary schools with 115,972 pupils, and 9,613 teachers; or one school to 26,328 inhabitants and 10.4 pupils to 1,000 inhabitants. There were besides intermediary schools between the primary and secondary schools to the number of 426, with 57,284 pupils and 3,150 teachers. Technical education of all types was represented by 2,792 schools with 132,322 pupils and 9,524 teachers. There was a technical school to every 3,970 inhabitants, and twelve pupils to every 1,000. As for colleges for higher education, for fear that they should become active centres of Polonism, the Germans have not opened a single one in their Polish provinces since the 19th century, with the exception of a German Polytechnic at Gdansk (Dantzic), and an Academy at Poznań, which is little more than a Society for Lectures, without any power to confer diplomas on its students. In 1911 the cost of public education (excluding that of higher education) in the four Russian provinces was 191,054,000 francs, or 83.6 francs per pupil, and 17.24 francs per inhabitant. The total number of schools was 17,140; of pupils 2,286,000. This is equivalent to one school for 647 inhabitants and 206 pupils per 1,000 inhabitants.

In Lithuania and Ruthenia, where public education is

exclusively Russian, there were in 1910—11 15,440 schools with 976,651 pupils to 25,429,000 inhabitants, or one school to 1,647 inhabitants, and 38.4 pupils to 1,000 inhabitants. Secondary schools to the number of 184 were attended by 59,183 pupils, or one school to 138,201 inhabitants and 2.5 pupils per 1,000. There were 120 technical schools with 17,300 pupils; or one school to 211,908 inhabitants, and 0.68 pupils per 1,000. The total number of schools was 15,825; of pupils, 1,093,100, or one school for 1,608.8 inhabitants, and 43 pupils per 1,000. Since the suppression in 1832 of the Polish Universities at Wilno and Krzemieniec there has not been a single institution for higher education in any of these parts of the ancient Republic of Poland (as it existed in 1772).

PRIVATE POLISH ENTERPRISE

The Polish people, indignant at being thus deprived of education, have long endeavoured to remedy the evil by private enterprise. Owing to systematic persecution by the Russian and Prussian governments, education in Polish in the territories under their control could be given only in secret. Those who devoted themselves to this noble task were punished as revolutionaries. The Benevolent Society at Warsaw succeeded in opening Reading Rooms for the masses but they were closely watched by the police. This society, and individual philanthropists maintained institutions for children, in which, however, all copy-books and grammars were forbidden.

Kingdom of Poland. The School-Mother. After the Constitution of 1905 certain partial reforms were introduced into the Kingdom. Immediately the Polish people brought collective action to bear upon public education, and various institutions were established. The most important and most popular of these was the "School Mother" (*Macierz szkolna*), which under the presidency of the eminent philanthropist Osuchowski soon had a membership of 150,000, and 781 branches. Its expenditure reached the sum of 3,000,000 francs. In a year and a half it founded 317 schools with 61,900 pupils, 54 infant schools, which accommodated 14,400 children, 506 libraries or reading rooms

containing 222,000 volumes. By the side of this vast organisation, but on a smaller scale, there worked "Light," an organisation for schools, reading rooms, and popular publications. "The University for All" received thousands of students. Other associations, such as "Sokol" (20,000 members)—a gymnastic society—combined intellectual instruction with physical culture. In 1907 the Russian authorities suppressed "Light," the "School Mother," and soon after "Sokol," and "The University for All." The Society called "Polish Culture" (*Kultura Polska*) was allowed to exist a little longer (until June, 1913) and to pursue its activities among the working classes and the Jews. This society had a membership of 6,550 (President, Swientochowski).

Lithuania and Ruthenia. In 1906 associations were organised in Lithuania and Ruthenia which, under the name of "Oswiata" (Education), soon set to work effectively, establishing reading rooms, schools, infant schools, lectures and publications. The branches at Wilno, Minsk, Nieswicz and Kiev distinguished themselves particularly by their zeal. With the same objects in view were founded the "Society of the Friends of Students" at Wilno in 1907, and "The Society for the Advancement of Education among the Poles" at Kowno in 1909, but owing to incessant opposition these associations were obliged to a great extent to limit their activities. The "Oswiata" associations were all suppressed in 1907 and 1908 on the pretext that they were "an obstacle to the unification and Russification of these provinces" (Decree of the Senate, 1909).

This labour of Sisyphus was none the less repeatedly recommenced. In spite of the fact that their certificates have no official value, private Polish schools abound in the Kingdom of Poland. In 1913 there were 827 elementary schools, with 57,891 pupils, and 247 secondary schools of various kinds, with 50,079 pupils. Finally, to obviate the want of Higher Polish Education by the State, Classes for Advanced Knowledge were formed and became very prosperous. Only those students who had studied six years in a secondary school were admitted. Higher schools for special subjects also prospered. It should be noted too that professional and industrial education, almost entirely

neglected by the Government, was warmly supported by the Polish public. While a bare dozen inferior Government technical schools just managed to exist, 196 private Polish schools of this type, both elementary and secondary, were founded and entered by 23,000 pupils. Five superior technical schools have also been founded with 1,060 students (out of a total of seven private institutions for higher education with 1,443 pupils of both sexes). (See Table **Higher Education**.)

Galicia. In spite of its poverty and its over-population, Galicia—in order to combat the ignorance left her as an inheritance by governments preceding the autonomous era—has founded numerous private institutions. The oldest of these is the Society for Popular Education (*Towstwo Oswiaty Ludowej*, 1882); but it is undeniably the Popular Schools Association (*Towstwo Szkolz Ludowej*, 1891), patronised by all Poles without distinction of party, which has taken and kept the first place; it is this association which has done most for the national education of the people. It has built primary schools and gymnasia (or colleges) in the “Marches” of Poland to combat the denationalisation of the Polish element, and has established reading rooms and schools by the hundred in the towns. In 1912 its expenditure was 1,377,500 francs. The association, which depends for its resources entirely on the generosity of Polish citizens, maintains four secondary, 55 industrial, and 479 primary and elementary schools; 117 classes for illiterate adults; 37 boarding schools and infant schools; and 2,520 popular reading rooms containing 409,500 volumes. On a smaller scale, but with results as far-reaching, the “School Mother” (*Macierz Szkolna*) in Cieszyn (*Teschen*) has shown indefatigable activity. In 1909 it had a membership of 3,000; its expenditure reached 175,000 crowns; it subsidised six elementary schools, six infant schools accommodating 1,639 children, and in conjunction with the Popular Schools Association, a “Real School” at Orłowa.

The Mickiewicz Popular University devotes its energies above all to the urban industrial population in Galicia. Besides its regular lectures (800 are delivered annually with an attendance of 50,000), embracing all branches of knowledge, at Cracow and Lwów, as well as at sixteen other

centres which it has established in the province, it has organised purely educational classes, reading rooms, scientific excursions, and visits to museums and historic buildings. Branches of the Public University Classes formed by the two Galician universities give lectures at Lwów and Cracow and in the provinces. At Cracow there is also a Private School of Political Science, which is very well attended. The Gymnastic Society called "Sokol" (Falcon), with a membership of 50,000, has branches even in the smallest Galician towns, where it is an active centre of social, national, and intellectual life. We leave on one side the countless professional societies, and others which have only an indirect connection with public education.

Prussian Poland. In the Polish provinces of Prussia, not only are Polish schools prohibited, but many other obstacles are put in the way of any Polish education. The Prussian police put the most arbitrary interpretation on the famous "muzzling" order which forbids the use of Polish at any public gatherings in districts where the Polish population does not exceed 60 per cent. Thanks to the elasticity of this order, the most inoffensive associations for technical, physical and hygienic culture are held suspect, and proscribed. As for mere scholastic associations, they are the object of cruel administrative persecution. In this way the activities of the Mickiewicz Association for lectures and classes have been practically paralysed. There are two institutions in Prussian Poland specially devoted to the education of the masses; they organise excursions and subsidise and support any movement which has for its object the preservation of the country's national character. These are the Educational Committees of the National Council, and of the National Look-out (Straz naradowa).

The Marcinkowski Association for giving aid to young students is another eloquent witness to the enlightened patriotism of the Poles. Founded in 1841 by the great citizen whose name it bears, it has developed rapidly, thanks to public support. In 1913 it possessed a capital of 2,000,000 francs and an income of 167,000 francs. This society, which has a membership of 7,691, gives scholarships to 449 students.

The Popular Reading Room Association organises lectures

and congresses, and founds Reference and Circulating Libraries. It has started 1,750 of them. The Poles in Prussia, in spite of the prohibitions and persecutions which they encounter at every step, take advantage of any opportunity offered them for doing work of national and educational value. Entertainments, commemorative festivals, concerts, and even election meetings are always made the pretext for some lecture on a literary or scientific subject. In addition to the Clubs for Mutual Instruction, which are regarded with disfavour by the authorities, they have instituted wherever possible a number of systematic courses. Public lectures being subjected to many forms of espionage, private ones have been organised behind closed doors. Every association, whatever its special character, devotes its leisure to educational lectures. This activity has assumed vast proportions, and has achieved the most encouraging results. We will quote here the prosperous associations known as "Sokol" (Falcon), with its 120 "Nests" and 13,000 members; the Choral Clubs Union, with 320 clubs and 14,000 members; the Unions of Popular and Industrial Catholic Associations, comprising 593 associations with 66,500 members; the Temperance Societies, with 4,000 members; the Women's Unions, with 15,000 members; the Young Men's Unions, with 9,000 members. To sum up, in the Prussian provinces, the lectures organised by over 1,000 Polish associations, comprising over 110,000 members, reached the number of 18,600 in the year 1910.

CONCLUSION

It is in the Kingdom of Poland (as defined in 1815) that the state of public education, compared with that of its neighbours, is most deplorable—the tragic effect of the system applied in Russian Poland for so many years. It is enough to point out that in the Kingdom of Poland there is only one primary school to every 2,451 inhabitants, as against one to every 1,423 inhabitants in Russia; that in the Kingdom there are only 29.9 pupils per 1,000 inhabitants as against 42.9 per 1,000 in Russia; that the Kingdom possesses one secondary school to 135,609 inhabitants, while

Russia has one to 92,326; that there are only six Government technical schools, and those of an elementary kind; that the expenditure on public education in Russia is proportionately twice as high as in Poland.

In Lithuania and Ruthenia Polish schools are entirely prohibited, although there are 2,500,000 Poles in these countries.

The statistics as to schools in Prussia bear witness to the solicitude of the Government for education, and to the flourishing condition of its schools. It is quite true that Poles can profit by these schools equally with Germans; but the whole administration of education throughout the Polish provinces of Prussia tends systematically towards the annihilation of the nationality and distinctive characteristics of the Poles. The fact that public education in Germany is compulsory after the age of six years is in itself a formidable menace. Nor is it an accident that the Polish Provinces of Prussia, Poznań, West Prussia, Upper Silesia and Olsztyn (East Prussia) are without any institutions for Higher Education which might concentrate the elements of Polish nationality.

In Galicia, the progress achieved during the period of autonomy has not altogether succeeded in removing the traces of the old bureaucratic administration of Austria, although 40 per cent. of the budget voted by the Galician Diet is devoted to public education. Moreover, it is not surprising that this province should be much behind the central provinces of the Empire which are more favoured by the Government. The proportion of the population of Galicia to the total population of the Empire is 28 per cent., but the percentage of schools of all kinds is only 20.44; of secondary schools, 16.28; of teachers, 17.38; of pupils, 25.55 (Comparative statistics for 1907—1908). The percentage is even lower in technical education—7.39. In Austrian Silesia, as far as schools are concerned, the Germans and the Czechs enjoy privileges to the detriment of the Polish population. According to the statistics for 1906, there were in the Duchy of Cieszyn (Teschen), the majority of the inhabitants of which are Poles, 320 primary schools. Polish children, compelled to attend German or Czech schools, are threatened with denationalisation. To sum up, there is one

primary school for 1,430 Poles, 1,218 Czechs, and 1,092 Germans; 56,240 Germans possess nine secondary schools; 85,553 Czechs one college and a seminary (a Normal school), and 218,869 Poles one college, and some Polish courses at the German Normal school. The situation is improving, but very slowly. In 1910 there were in the Duchy of Cieszyn 154 Polish schools with 31,000 pupils, or one school to 1,518 Polish inhabitants. Besides the college mentioned above, there have since been opened a State Normal school, and a private Polish "Real" School. In spite of all deficiencies and disadvantages, the Austrian Poles enjoy the right to be taught in their own language and to cultivate their national individuality. Galicia has been a very active centre of Polish thought and of Polish educational work during the last forty years.

In nearly all countries the financial burden of education is borne by the State as well as by the different localities. The contributions from the State and local authorities to the maintenance of secondary schools in England amounts to 59.5 per cent.; in America to 46.5 per cent. In Galicia, on the contrary, the burden of the public education budget falls for the most part upon the autonomous government. In Russia, as in Prussia, the Government has appropriated ancient scholastic funds, as also richly endowed scholarships, and has used them for the benefit of pupils of alien nationalities. Both governments have used taxes paid by the Polish people for the propagation of education contrary to its national sentiment, and for fifty years have used the school as an instrument of denationalisation.

The Polish nation has offered an obstinate resistance to the intrigues for compassing its destruction, to the corruption of its national soul in the schools. Deprived in both Russia and Prussia of all self-government, it is, except in Galicia, dependent for resources to carry on its educational work on public generosity, which has many other claims on it, political, economic and social. Thanks to prodigious efforts, the Polish people have succeeded in raising the standard of national education in Galicia, in creating a system of private education in the Kingdom, and in forming vast educational organisations in each of the three divisions

of Poland. It has been beyond their strength, however, to satisfy all needs, handicapped as they are by obstacles systematically opposed to their action.

The Poles who, in the 16th and early 17th centuries, were on a level with the most advanced European nations, have at the present time a very large proportion of illiterates, the result of the educational policy of the Partitioning Powers. In spite of the difficult circumstances forced on her, Poland has reduced the number of her illiterate inhabitants; in spite of many obstacles, she has succeeded in maintaining secondary education, and has caused learning to flourish in her two Galician universities. She has then every reason to be proud of having found means to resist the attempts against her nationality, and of having kept alive that love of learning which was one of her glories in the days of her prosperity.

CHAPTER II

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY¹

THE MIDDLE AGES

IN Poland as in other countries, the scientific movement originated in the monasteries, which followed scholastic methods and cultivated theology. Far from limiting themselves to these studies, in which they soon became eminent, Polish scholars applied themselves specially to the exact sciences. Astronomy and mathematics found fervent devotees, and at the dawn of modern times Poland, thanks to the genius of Nicolas Copernic (Copernicus), took the first place in European science.

One of the earliest manifestations of the awakening of Polish thought was a History by Gallus, and other chronicles of the 12th century (see **Literature**). In 1166 the Bishop of Cracow (Matthias Cholewa) already knew and quoted the "Digests" and the "Institutes" which had been discovered only thirty years before in Italy. In the 13th century the Pole Vitello became famous in Europe through his philosophical works, and above all through his remarkable Treatise on Optics which through subsequent ages, until Kepler (17th century), was regarded as the basis for all research in this department of physics. In 1246 the Polish monk Benedict, and John of Plano-Carpino, made a journey to Central Asia, of which they left an interesting record. At the National Library, Paris, there is preserved a curious work on astronomy of the same period by "Master

¹ In this and the following chapters on Literature, Art and Music, the authors, when enumerating the names of great scientists, writers and artists, had to decide whether they should confine themselves to quoting only the most famous names, or should give a list of all those who have distinguished themselves in Science and Art. The latter plan was adopted as being more suitable to a book which is essentially a manual of information and not an analytical history of Polish Science, Art or Literature.

Frank of Polonia." Another Pole, Thomas of Cracow, lectured for over thirty years at the University of Paris. He was the author of that celebrated Code of Theology which Hauréau describes as follows: "We do not possess any other record which makes us better acquainted with the problems which agitated theologians at Paris during the later years of the 14th century, with the manner in which they were discussed, and the solutions which were offered."

A systematic codification of Polish law was undertaken between 1347 and 1349 (Statutes of Wislica and Piotrkow) under Casimir the Great who in 1364 founded Cracow University. King Ladislas Jagiello reorganised it in 1400 on the model of the Sorbonne with the assistance of the Pole, Peter Wysz of Radolin, professor of Padua University, and afterwards Bishop of Cracow. From that time forward Poland had her own scientific centre, which was a source of light not only in her own dominions, but in countries beyond her frontiers.

Cracow University. In the 15th century Cracow University was one of the most brilliant and one of the most frequented intellectual centres in Europe. Like the Sorbonne, it defended the Conciliar principle, and asserted the necessity for the reform of the Church through the submission of papal authority to that of the Ecumenical Councils. The whole of Europe gave an attentive ear to Matthias of Cracow, a former professor at Heidelberg, who preached this doctrine with enthusiasm. Delegates from the University took an active part in the Councils of Constance and Basle, where the Pole, Nicolas Tromba, Archbishop of Gniezno (Gnesen), was one of the most favoured candidates for the Papal Chair.

The most ancient Polish translation of the Holy Scriptures which has survived dates from the 15th century. It is "the Bible of Queen Sophia" of the "Szarosz-patak."

Cracow at this time was one of the most celebrated schools of philosophy and theology. Its library had acquired priceless treasures, precious sources from which flowed the thought of the Middle Ages. It was at Cracow that learned men of world-wide fame wrote their works and lectured—men like St. John Kenty, Thomas Strzempinski, Benedict

Hesse, James de Paradiso. It was here that John Sacranus, one of the brightest theological lights at the end of the 15th century, flourished. Among the scholastic philosophers of this time Michael of Wroclaw, John of Glogow, and above all Michael of Byzstrzkow and his pupil John of Stolina, author of one of the earliest maps of America (1512), are not inferior in talent or learning to any of the great contemporary masters.

Humanism. The 15th century saw the entry into Poland of Humanism, which began at this time to regenerate learning in Poland as in other countries. N. Lacoski, J. Dombrowska, Paul of Krosno, all three professors at Cracow, were in the middle of the 15th century the precursors of this great movement inspired by classical antiquity. The celebrated Humanists, Philolph, Corvinus, the two Sommerfelds, Agricola, the younger Libanus, and above all Callimachus and Conrad Celtes, lived on the shores of the Vistula (see **Literature**). Thanks to the intimate relations which had existed for many centuries between Poland and the intellectual centres of Europe, the new tendencies soon had a great influence. It was in excellent Latin that Dlugosz (Longinus, 1415—1480) wrote his admirable "*Historia Poloniae*," one of the earliest examples of the application of the critical method to historical events. Ostroróg (1430—1501), philosopher and jurist, one of the most independent and democratic minds of the time, was at the same time a consummate Latinist.

Copernicus. The exact sciences and medicine also made rapid progress. One of the first Treatises on Hygiene written in Europe came from the pen of Matthias of Cracow. As has already been said, mathematics and astronomy were especially cultivated at Cracow University. By the side of Martin of Olkusz² and Martin Krol of Przemyśl, who still confused astrology with astronomy (Tycho-Brahé and Kepler two centuries later were guilty of the same error), we find Adalbert of Brudzewo (or Brudzen), who with a lucidity of thought exceptional in his times excluded astrology from astronomical studies. Poland, keeping her

² Martin of Olkusz is regarded as the real author of the reform of the Calendar. (See H. Grappin: "*La Pologne et la civilisation Européenne*.")

place in the van of progress, was soon to give the world one of its greatest glories, one of the inspired thinkers of modern science, Nicolas Copernic. (Copernicus, 1473—1543).

Attracted by the faculty of medicine, Copernic had left Torun (Thorn), his native town, to study at Cracow. The teaching of Adalbert of Brudzewo soon made him realise that his real vocation was for mathematics and astronomy. After a stay at Bologna and Padua he obtained a Chair at Rome, which he left later on in order to become for eight years a Professor at the University of Cracow. He composed his famous work "De revolutionibus orbium coelestium" in 1543.³

THE RENAISSANCE

The 16th century was in Poland as in other civilised countries the great period of the literary and scientific renaissance. The triumph of Humanism was also that of those studies which under the traditional title of *Philology* are concerned with literature and philosophy, with history and exegesis. The other sciences received a similar impetus. Whereas in the preceding centuries only a few men of genius emancipated themselves from the fog of scholasticism now light spread everywhere, and innumerable savants addressed crowds of attentive students. The maintenance of the old relations with France, Italy and Germany; the consummate knowledge of Latin, which was still the language of science, gave Poland citizenship and a place of honour in the vast Republic formed by intellectual Europe in the 16th century.

Erasmus of Rotterdam maintained continuous relations with many Poles, including Tomicki, Bishop of Cracow, and Zebrzdowski, etc. Justus Lipse, Amatus, the Manuce, Muret were all loud in their praises of the learning of the Republic. Muret asserts that Poland and Italy were the two most civilised nations of his time.

³ Copernic also made researches in economic science. In his interesting treatise *De optima monetæ cudendæ ratione* he first formulated the principles of the law of the circulation of money, principles which were popularised by Gresham 100 years later, and now bear his name ("Gresham's Law").

In this century, distracted by religious discord and religious wars, Poland, distinguished for its toleration, offered a refuge to representatives of the most daring and opposite sects. Protestant and Catholic theologians competed freely on Polish soil; there were some remarkable studies in exegesis and patrology, and brilliant sermons both by foreigners such as the two Socinii, Vergerius, Stankar; and by Poles such as the inspired preacher, Peter Skarga, and Grodzicki, defenders of Catholicism; and Gregory of Zarnowiec, J. Seklucyan, and Wolan, champions of the Reformation. Jan Laski, one of the lights of Protestantism, was particularly admired in England and Germany. Simon Budny was the first to apply scientific criticism to the sacred Scriptures, thus inaugurating a system of study which was perfected by the French and Germans in the 19th century. Wujek made a translation of the Bible, worthy of a true Humanist. The Polish clergy were renowned for their learning, and were honoured by one of their members—Cardinal Hosius—being chosen as one of the presidents of the Council of Trent.

The 16th century had no historian like Dlugosz. Nevertheless there was no lack of historians of ability. Bielski (1495—1575) wrote the first universal history, which was translated into several languages and enjoyed a well-deserved reputation. Kromer, an historian (1512—1589) published also a learned geographical and ethnographical account of Poland. Strykowski (1547—1582) wrote, among other works, the first history of Lithuania, in the form of a chronicle rich in ethnographical and archæological material. B. Paprocki (1543—1613) was the first Polish writer on heraldry; some of his works are devoted to Czech heraldry. There should also be mentioned among 16th century historians, Miechowita (d. 1523), Wapowski (d. 1535), Bielski (d. 1599), Hejdenstein (1550—1620), Orzelski (d. 589).

Law was the subject of many learned works. J. Laski, Taszycki, Przyluski, systematically codified the Polish laws; Roysius, physician to King Sigismund II (Augustus) founded a famous school of jurisprudence at Wilno. The philosophy of law is represented by A. Frycz Modrzewski (1503—1572), a political and social reformer, who was in ad-

vance of his time in claiming the equality of all citizens before the law.

Philological studies flourished. Niedecki (1527—1886) wrote a valuable work on "Fragments of Cicero"; Latosz prepared the way for Scaliger; Patricius and J. Broscius (still esteemed as a mathematician) were Hellenists and famous Aristotelians. Parkosz and S. Zaborowski compiled the first systematic treatises on Polish orthography. Marycki and Gliczner wrote excellent treatises on pedagogy at the same period.

In exact and natural sciences, besides Copernic, and the mathematician Broscius, mentioned above, there should be mentioned two naturalists, compilers of vast "Herbals": Martin of Urzendow (d. 1590) and S. Syrenius (Syrenski, d. 1611). These scientists laboured at Cracow at the same period as the physician Strus, a professor at Padua, who was one of the first medical scientists to study the pulse in illness, and published a work on the subject which achieved immense popularity.

Scientific progress in Poland was encouraged by the foundation of Wilno University in 1578. Wujek, Skarga and Smiglecki (d. 1616) were professors there. Smiglecki's "Logic" had so great a reputation that it became the recognised text-book in many European countries. (In England, for example, Swift passed an examination in this treatise.) Zamosc University was opened in 1595. Among its professors were the jurist Dregner, and the anatomist and grammarian Niedzwiecki (Ursinus).

THE DECAY OF LEARNING

In the course of the 17th century the ardour for scientific study gradually declined, and by the beginning of the 18th century science was almost entirely neglected. Various causes had brought about this decadence; among them foreign wars, civil strife, and the monopoly of education by the Jesuits. It was in harmony with the spirit of the times, and with the ambitions of the governing noble class that heraldic study, and historical panegyrics should be in high favour. A taste for fine oratory, and a widely-diffused

knowledge of Latin were favourable to the study of philology.

Philosophy and theology, submerged in scholastic subtleties, produced nothing of mark. We can mention only A. Bzowski, who edited the *Annals of Baronius*.

In the department of History, the general enervation was less noticeable. The chronicle of the chief events in the history of Europe by Bishop Piasecki (1580—1649) is distinguished by penetrating judgment and sound criticism. S. Starowolski, a prolific writer (1588—1656), historian, geographer, jurisconsult, was one of the first literary historians. W. Nudawski, W. Kojalowicz, the historian of Lithuania, Hartknoch, and D. Braun (d. 1737) have left many interesting works, full of valuable material. The huge *Armorial* of K. Niesiecki (d. 1744), the most eminent of all Polish heraldists, bears witness to minute and laborious research. Lengruch (d. 1777) wrote a learned history of Polish constitutional law. T. Olizarowski, a Professor at Wilno, made a reputation in Europe by reason of the depth and democratic liberality of his social and judicial ideas (see **Literature**). Philology flourished at Wilno. Professor Szyruid published his profound researches in the Lett and Lithuanian languages. Golynski of Cracow, a famous Hellenist and Hebraist, collaborated in the "Centuries" with the great philologist Justus Lipse. Grylicki won fame as an orientalist. The Jesuit Knapski (d. 1638), author of a great Polish-Latin-Greek dictionary, and a Polish-Latin one, also compiled an exhaustive collection of Polish proverbs and sayings ("Adagia polonica"). At Kiev Academy, founded in 1615, Smotrzycki became famous for his lectures on the Slav languages and the ancient Slav liturgy.

Polish zeal for mathematics asserted itself even in this pedantic and reactionary century. Mention may be made of J. Brozek (d. 1652), A. Kochanski (d. 1696), author of the famous *Letters to Leibnitz*, professor at Mayence and Florence, and librarian to King Sobieski; and S. Soliski (d. 1701), the author of several treatises on geometry and mechanics. The names of the naturalist, J. Jonston, a native of Greater Poland (1603—1675), and of the eminent astronomer Hevelius (1615—1687), who was born at Dantzic, and gave his name to a constellation—the "Scutum

Sobiescii"—are well known in the scientific world. Finally let us mention K. Siemionowicz, who wrote a treatise on Artillery which soon became an European classic and is still quoted by modern experts ("Ars Magna Artilleriae.")

THE SCIENTIFIC REVIVAL

The intellectual movement in France in the 18th century commanded enthusiastic admiration in Poland, and brought about a revival of learning. The Court of Lorraine where Stanislas Leszcynski, formerly King of Poland, reigned, was the chief instrument through which French influence was propagated. Poles flocked in great numbers to Lunéville, to Nancy, to Paris; in the famous Encyclopædist salons which they frequented, they learned the fine manners of Versailles, and, what was more valuable, became acquainted with the great philosophical, literary and scientific movement of the time. The reaction in Poland against apathy and routine began to manifest itself in the middle of the 18th century. Bishop J. A. Zaluski (1701—1774), a learned and enthusiastic bibliographer, aided by his collaborator, Janocki, founded the Societas Mariana, a scientific body, and in 1746 established the first public library in Warsaw. With this object he offered to the Republic his immense private collection of 300,000 volumes. In 1750 P. E. Jablonski published his famous "Pantheon-Aegyptiorum," in which he prepared the way for Champollion (born in 1790).

With Stanislas-Augustus's accession to the throne, the scientific revival became more pronounced. The passion for knowledge, which in the golden age of learning had prevailed in all branches of science, once more fired the Poles, and they applied themselves to the task of regenerating science and making it flourish in their country. This state of mind was so general that, besides professional *savants*, every class of society produced scholars who devoted themselves to researches which were often very productive.

First, historic, and pre-historic times became the object of research, sometimes going back to the most remote past of the Slav peoples. The Poles were the first to study

national and racial questions, and the value to civilisation of the various ethnical types. They were attracted to this task by the patriotic desire to find out what were the primitive virtues and national characteristics which had once been the cause of their national greatness. In 1769 Prince J. Jablonowski founded and endowed at Leipzig an institution for the study of Polono-Slav history known as the *Societas Jablonowiana*, which still exists although it has been taken over by the Germans. J. Potocki, the precursor in philology of Bopp and Grimm, published valuable treatises on ancient geography and on the Slavs in prehistoric times. To the same subjects are devoted the works of the eminent statesman, H. Kollontaj (1750—1812), who is held in high esteem both as an historian and a reformer of public education in Poland. The Chancellor, A. Zamoyski, drew up a plan of legislation full of humanitarian ideas. Bishop A. Naruszewicz (1733—1796) collected an immense amount of material for the history of Poland and succeeded in writing it up to the year 1386. It is distinguished by rare talent and sound critical faculty.

Works of equal merit appeared in all fields; in history and numismatics, Albertzandy; bibliography, Mitzler of Koloff; classical philology, J. Przybylski; exact sciences and astronomy, Poczobutt (d. 1810); mathematics, Gawronski; physics, Rogalinski. Bishop J. Krasicki (1735—1801) wrote the first modern Polish encyclopædia, the first manual of the history of poetry and of universal history.

In spite of the Partitions and subsequent disasters, a Society of the Friends of Science was formed at Warsaw in 1800 on the model of the academies of Western Europe, and concentrated the efforts of numerous *savants* whose memoranda were published in the "Annals of the Society" (30 volumes). Similar societies of minor importance, but serving a useful purpose, came into existence at Cracow in 1816 and at Poznan in 1857.

Wilno University. It was the University of Wilno, however, which did most to give science that impetus which it has never since lost. At the beginning of the 19th century it was an extremely active scientific centre, and could boast of such *savants* as the brothers Sniadecki (mathematicians, chemists and philosophers), Foubert; the

botanist S. Jundzwill; the historian Lelewel; the philologists Groddeck and Borowski. In medicine Wilno possessed masters of such reputation that students came even from Germany to attend the lectures of such professors as Bojanus and Frank. Jan Sniadecki (1756—1830) published his astronomical observations in the Memoranda of the Scientific Academies of Berlin, Vienna and Petersburg. His "Physico-mathematical Geography of the Earth" (1814) is one of the best works of the kind in Europe. A student of the Scottish school of philosophy, he laid down the principles of positivism thirty years before Comte ("On the Philosophy of Kant"). His brother, Andrew Sniadecki (1768—1838), a chemist, and a physician of remarkable attainments, became celebrated through his "Theory of Organic Existence," which has been described by specialists as "the essential basis of any scientific medical system." It was translated into French, and there are two German versions.

In 1805 the Wolhynian College (a higher school) was founded at Krzemieniec. Among professors at this institution, Besser, the botanist, and Jaroszewicz, the jurist, are particularly famous.

Wilno was not the only centre of the Polish intellectual movement, Warsaw, thanks to its university and its *savants*, became its rival. In 1815 Staszic published there his great geological and hydrographic map of the ancient Republic of Poland. Few nations at this period could boast of the possession of an equally comprehensive work. He also published a "Treatise on Geology." While W. Strojnowski maintained at Wilno the ideas of the physiocrats, F. Skarbek put forward at Warsaw original ideas on economics. Histories of literature, treatises on philology, and bibliographies came from J. M. Ossolinski (d. 1826), Bentkowski (d. 1852), Kopczynski (1735—1817), and Mrozinski. C. Brodzinski (d. 1835) made his contemporaries acquainted with the historical criticism of Villemain.

Studies in the language, history and customs of the Slavs received much attention, and there was a friendly rivalry in these researches with the Czechs. L. Surowiecki demonstrated the falsity of the hypothesis which identified the Sarmatians with the Venetian Slavs. Staszic was undoubt-

edly the first philosopher to construct an illuminating, historical and philosophical theory as to the tendency of European nations to group themselves into confederations based on unity of race. He notes the different stages and forms of this movement ("The Human Race"), and indicates in this work the characteristics and future of the Slav race. The amazing philological labours of S. B. Linde (1771—1847) (*Comparative Vocabulary of the Polish and other Slav languages*) established a solid foundation for all learning of this kind.

Historical and Juridical Studies received a fresh impetus. T. Czacki (1765—1813) and J. Danilowicz (d. 1843) collected copious material for interesting theories on the history of Polish laws and institutions. Rakowiecki and J. Bandkie began the comparative study of Slav law. The enthusiastic appeals of Z. D. Chodakowski (or Czarnocki) (d. 1825) provoked other Slav races to take a keen interest in their own folk-lore. Finally the Polish Slavophiles and travellers, L. Sapieha, M. Bobrowski, and A. Kucharski, exercised considerable influence on the awakening of a national consciousness among Serbs, Slovenes and Slovaks. By taking the lead in the study of the ethnography of these peoples, Polish science contributed much to their national development.

IDEALISTIC TENDENCIES (1831—1863)

Exodus of Polish Scientists. The period of repression which followed the insurrection of 1831, the suppression of all institutions for higher education, and of scientific societies forced men of science and letters to take refuge abroad. Paris became the chief centre of Polish thought, which also, from 1840, began to concentrate itself in Poznań and the miniature republic of Cracow. The year 1831 witnessed the first exodus of Polish *savants* who henceforth occupied chairs at foreign universities, a phenomenon which still persists. We will confine ourselves to mentioning the courses of Slav literature at the College of France, entrusted first to the great poet, A. Mickiewicz, and after him to A. Chodzko (1804—1891).

The disappearance of the last remnant of the ancient Polish State of the "Kingdom," as constituted in 1815, exercised a decisive influence on the trend of Polish thought. Philosophy and history tried to find a rational and philosophical explanation of these apparently inexplicable disasters, to discover the way of salvation, to give the nation the moral lead which was indispensable to it.

Polish Philosophy, refusing to accept the authority of the French and Scottish Schools, was inspired above all by that of Germany, whose influence, however, was not accepted without reservations. Polish thinkers, concentrated for the most part in Poznań, broadened the doctrines of German intellectualism by invoking the rights of feeling, of will and of intuition, factors which they placed on a level with that of the intelligence. Negative analysis did not satisfy them; they were eminently pragmatic, and aimed before all at the solution of the problems of the real life of humanity. The laws of morality, the relations of the individual to society, national and social studies—such were the favourite subjects of philosophical study. Although little known abroad, their works contain the germ of many ideas which have since been developed by modern thinkers, and possess a general value over and above the influence they had on the thought of their own nation.

Among these thinkers, one of the most profound, but also one of the most enigmatic, was Hoene Wronski (1777—1853), a pupil of Kant's at Königsberg, a mathematician often inspired, whose work, preserved for the most part in manuscript, has excited the interest of many foreign scientists.⁴ (*Prolegomena of Messianism, Philosophy of the Infinite*). It was Wronski who invented the term "Messianism," since applied to a system of philosophy. Szaniawski (d. 1843), another disciple of Kant, developed scientifically his later theories. With a more personal touch J. Goluchowski (1797—1858), professor at Wilno University, and a disciple of Schelling, interpreted his master's pantheism in a humanitarian and Christian spirit, and heralded modern pragmatism in his "Meditations on the essential problems of

⁴ M. Bertrand, a mathematician and a member of the French Academy, has written an interesting study of Wronski.

humanity." The Hegelians, J. Kremer (1806—1875) and K. Libelt (1807—1875) were, the one, an excellent art theorist and historian; the other a moralist and a remarkable æstheticist. Both emphasised the importance of the part played by imagination in the sphere of thought. B. Trentowski (1808—1869) surpassed them both by the universality of his mental outlook. Professor at the University of Fribourg, in Brisgau, he emancipated himself from Hegelian influences, and approached all philosophical and scientific questions from the point of view of their relations to social life. Among other works he wrote "National Logic," a treatise on education (Chowanna), and a vast "Pantheon of Knowledge," being a collection of his meditations on philosophy and history. His theories often bear witness to extraordinary perspicacity. He dwells on the intimate connection between the philosophy of a nation and its idiom which he considers the reflection and expression of its most profound national characteristics. He assigns to the Slavs, and particularly to the Poles, the task of enriching the metaphysical systems of the Germans and Latins, and so demonstrating the value of the national element in philosophy. A very different school of thought was that of A. Cieszkowski (1814—1894), whose masterpiece, "The Lord's Prayer," expresses the mystical side of Polish philosophy. The author divides history into three periods: the pagan, the Christian in form, and the Christian in fact. The last he thinks will be realized by the fruitful efforts of the Polish nation in the moral and spiritual sphere.

Such theories, far removed from modern philosophical conceptions, were in harmony with those of the middle of the 19th century. Throughout Europe, spiritualism, the official philosophy of the period, could meet them only with inadequate arguments. Even independent thinkers, such as the father of positivism, A. Comte himself, abandoned rationalist theories to plunge into mysticism. Dreamers of the past, such as St. Martin, Swedenborg, J. Boehme, became the fashion; a free rein was given to sentiment in the sphere of metaphysics; the result was an extreme form of romanticism which reigned supreme.

Messianism. Among the Poles other causes of a special character contributed to this. The misfortunes of which

their country had been the victim, the need of finding some moral support in the midst of innumerable disasters, made a group of men of letters lean towards a doctrine of which the visionary, A. Towianski (1795—1878) was the convinced apostle. This new philosophy, known as Messianism, asserted the spirituality and the moral evolution of the world, the sins of which would be redeemed by the sacrifice and the voluntary martyrdom of a nation. By destining Poland to this glorious mission, and giving a mystical meaning to her sufferings, Messianism exercised a powerful influence on the great poets, Mickiewicz, Krasinski and Slowacki, and was not without its influence on French thought as well as on that of other countries (see **Literature**).

To these patriotic motives must also be attributed the great activity of historians at this time. Some found consolation for the misfortunes of the present in contemplating the splendours of the past; others on the contrary became absorbed in a stubborn search for the origin and causes of their disasters; all demanded from history, *magistra vitae*, lessons and counsels for the future. Their works are sometimes charged with their political theories and individual opinions. Hence either idealism, or exaggerated severity when dealing with certain epochs and certain historic events; hence an excessive diversity of tendencies and opinions. Nevertheless, if the works of historians of this period are sometimes tainted by partiality, or marred by deliberate omissions, it is impossible not to recognise the breadth of their mental horizon. Their original and synthetic views gave life to scientific study, while the talent of the writers invested their works with a rare and high artistic value.

Lelewel. This period is dominated by the powerful personality of J. Lelewel (1786—1861), professor at Wilno, Warsaw and Brussels. His works, whether on universal history, geography or ancient numismatics, are all of the first order. They have been published repeatedly in French and German, and have made Lelewel a conspicuous figure in European science. His vast "History of Poland," inspired with the democratic spirit, brought him a crowd of disciples, among them Moraczewski (d. 1855), H. Szmitt (d. 1883), Wroblewski (d. 1877), a champion of the nobility; the monar-

chist Hoffman (d. 1875), L. Chodzko (1800—1871), publisher (under the pseudonym of Angelberg) of collections of diplomatic treaties, and of several valuable works concerning Poland and France; W. Krasinski, author of an excellent "History of the Reformation in Poland"; Jarochowski (d. 1889), who made the period of the rule of the Saxon dynasty in Poland his special study; A. Przędziecki (d. 1871); Narbutt, historian of Lithuania; Szajnocha (1818—1868), who resembles Macaulay in combining a light and varied style with accurate learning. The first editor of the "*Monumenta historiae polonica*," T. Bielowski (1806—1876) and F. Duchinski (d. 1893) also occupied themselves with Slav history; Count E. Tyszkiewicz and Golembiowski with archæology, and Stronczynski with numismatics. In spite of its partiality and its defective arrangement the work of W. Maciejowski (1793—1883) on Slav law was the first comprehensive survey in this field and exercised a great influence. A. Z. Helcel (1808—1876), editor of "*Ancient Polish Laws*," and R. Hube (1803—1890) left invaluable researches in the history of Polish law. Supinski devised a national theory of political economy. Among the historians of art and civilisation in Poland we must mention Lukaszewicz (d. 1873), Balinski, Rastawiecki, and Sobieszczanski.

Jocher (d. 1860) undertook a great bibliographical work. Mecherzynski (1800—1881), and J. Bartoszewicz (1821—1870) devoted themselves to literary or political history. M. Wisniewski (1794—1865) rivals Lelewel in the immensity of his output and the profundity of his philosophical ideas. Well versed in the history of universal civilisation he incorporates it in a masterly way into his "*History of Polish Literature*."

Scientific Research Affected by Persecution. The dissolution of societies and higher schools at Wilno, Warsaw and Krzemieniec, and the suppression of all subsidies to laboratories paralysed for some time the activity of scientific research in Poland. Thus at this period there are only two names of any importance; the chemist Walter, and the physiologist Majer at Cracow. Special mention ought also to be made here of the scientific society founded at Wilno under the modest title of the Archæological Commission.

After a short but productive existence (1855—1864) it was dissolved by the Government, and its rich historical archives and archæological and scientific collections were confiscated—treasures which had been brought together entirely by its own energy and the generosity of the Polish public.

PRESENT DAY

Reaction Against Idealism. The failure of the insurrection of 1863 meant the failure of exalted idealism in politics. A reaction set in; the era of criticism began. This critical movement was especially fruitful in the sphere of history. Henceforth the object is to find out the real facts of the nation's past, to discover rigorously the whole naked truth, without indulging in idealism or romantic generalisations. Foremost in this school, known as the Cracow School, were Popiel, W. Kalinka (1826—1886), a bold and unsparing critic of the last years of the Republic; J. Szujski (1835—1883), leader of the whole group, and author of an important general history of Poland.

Positivism. In philosophy idealistic beliefs and tendencies were also defeated. The materialistic and sociological movement found ardent support. Positivism triumphed. From this time studies were distinguished by their critical excellence, by their zeal for documentary preciseness. The bloody lesson of 1863 taught Poland to reconstruct its learning and its modern civilisation on new principles. In every field of thought, in every branch of knowledge, men laboured patiently to collect well-tested materials for solid foundations. They were guided above all by the desire to increase the material and moral strength of the nation, and to create conditions favourable to its political and intellectual life. For this reason, without neglecting any department of knowledge, special interest was taken in the exact and applied sciences, which have imposed their processes and methods on Polish thought for the last fifty years.

College of Higher Studies at Warsaw. In the second half of the 19th century the college at Warsaw rendered memorable services. It soon achieved a well-deserved reputation in Europe, and its ephemeral existence (1862—1869) was marked by a great outburst of scientific activity in the country. It can boast of numerous savants,

such as the histologist, Hoyer; the zoologist, Wrzesniowski; his pupils, the ornithologists, Taczanowski and Wodzicki; the geographer and Siberian explorer, Dybowski; the chemists, Natanson and Fudakowski; the physicians, Chalubinski, Szokalski and Girsztowt; the classical philologist, Wenclewski; the historian of Polish literature, Tyszynski (1811—1880); the jurist, Dutkiewicz, etc. It was there also that great novelists like Sienkiewicz, Prus, etc., were educated.

The suppression of the College of Higher Studies by the Russian Government led to the dispersion of all these lights of learning. Some of them remained at Warsaw, where they valiantly maintained the traditions of the College. Others were received and honoured in foreign universities, as for instance the botanist Strassburger at Bonn, and the anatomist Hirschfeld at Paris. This phenomenal state of affairs was accentuated at the end of the 19th century when, owing to the inadequate number of Polish Higher Schools, many professors were forced to emigrate. They joined the teaching staffs at Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Bonn, Heidelberg, Petrograd, Fribourg, Geneva, Zurich and other universities in Europe and America. Among other attempts to co-ordinate Polish scientific work abroad there should be mentioned the Society of Exact Sciences, founded at Paris about 1870 by Count T. Dzialynski. Its records run to a dozen volumes, and contain valuable notes on mathematics (Niewenglowski, Folkierski, and Gosiewski), notes on zoology (Girdwoyn); notes on anthropology (Chudzniski), etc. But the majority of the Warsaw professors emigrated to Galicia, where the complete restoration of the Polish language at the Universities of Cracow and Lwów, and the transformation of the Cracow Scientific Society into an Academy of Sciences (1873) marked the beginning of a brilliant and productive era for science in Poland (see below, **Scientific Institutions**). The work of Polish science was systematised and organised by committees of the Academy and by scientific societies which of late years have considerably increased. The Universities of Cracow and Lwów occupy a prominent place in the higher education of Western Europe. Their studies embrace every branch of learning, and every subject is represented.

Cracow Academy of Science. Passing over the vast encyclopædic dictionaries published elsewhere, we will mention the leading publications of the Academy: Collection of Ancient Laws; Corpus juris polonici, Diplomatic Codes; Archives of the Towns and Provinces; Geological Map of Galicia; etc. The Academy has also in preparation a monumental edition of the Greek Fathers, and an encyclopædic collection of works in a large number of volumes giving complete information on the subject of Poland. Among publications outside the Academy there ought to be mentioned a large Geographical Dictionary of Poland, and a Physiographical Atlas of Poland, published by the Dziedwzycki Museum at Lwów, etc.

Historians. Since Szujski, general histories of Poland have been written by historians such as T. Morawski; M. Bobrzynski (1849), formerly Lieutenant-General of Galicia; A. Lewicki (d. 1899), a legal historian; Smolenski, specialist in the 11th and 15th centuries (1851); Koneczny, specialist in the 18th century. Among the writers of monographs are:—*Pre-historic and Mediæval Periods, Slav and Polish*, T. Wojciechowski (1838), Potkanski (d. 1907), Semkowicz, senior and junior; the two Kentrzyńskis, A. Prochaska, Boguslawski, S. Smolka, S. Laguna (d. 1901), Krzyzanowski, S. Zakrzowski; *History of Ruthenia*, A. Jablonowski (1829—1913) and Rawita-Gawronski; *History of Lithuania*, Zahorski. Halecki, Prince Puzyna; 16th and 17th Centuries, W. Zakrzewski (1844), X. Liske (d. 1891), founder of the "Historical Review"; Prince T. Lubomirski, L. Finkel, L. Kubala (1838), Papée, W. Czermak, Sobieski, Stadnicki, Ptasnik, Szelongowski, Kamieniecki, Boratynski, Kolankowski; *Period of the Partitions of the Republic and the 19th Century*, T. Korzon (1839); Askenazy (contributor to the Modern Cambridge History, and a professor of repute), Dembinski, Tokarz, Konopczynski, K. M. Morawski, Skalkowski; Handelsman, Moscicki and Kukiel; *Various Periods*, Hirschberg, Kraushar, W. Przyborowski, Popiolek, E. Pulaski, I. Baranowski; *History of the Democratic Polish Movement in the 19th Century*, Limanowski; *Church History*, the Archbishop of Gniezno, Likowski (1836—1915), W. Chotkowski, Chodynski, Abraham, Fijalek,

Manowski, Manowski, Zahorowski, Loret, *History of the Jews in Poland*, Schorr, Balaban.

Writers on Law. F. Piekosinski (d. 1906), a distinguished heraldist, who revived the theory of the Norman descent of the Polish nobility; A. Pawinski (1840—1896), A. Rembowski (d. 1906), Balzer, Kutrzeba, Dombkowski, who devoted their studies to the Polish Constitution; W. Spasowicz (d. 1906), Holewinski, Dydynski, Dunin, Okolski, the two Zolls, A. Parczewski, J. Budzinski, Makarewicz, Kasperek, Miklaszewski, Roszkowski, Buzek, Chlamtacz, Balatsis, Fierich, Till, Konic, Lutostanski, Posner, Petrazycki, Dubanowicz, Winiarski, and Peretjatkowicz, who occupied themselves with codification, and with Polish law in general.

Political Economy. In political economy and statistics those who have made a reputation are L. Bilinski, at one time Minister of Finance in Austro-Hungary (*System of Social Economy*, *The Science of Finance*, etc.), and S. Glombinski, ex-Minister of Communications (*Social Economy—The Science of Finance*); W. Ochenkowski (d. 1908), W. Zalenski, J. Bloch (d. 1902), Milewski, W. Czerkowski (d. 1913), Kostanecki, Grabski, Z. Heryng; valuable works relating to the economic life of Poland have been compiled by Bujak ("Galicia"), A. Krzyzanowski, J. Rozwadowski and others.

Sociology. Gumplowicz, J. K. Potocki, J. K. Kochanowski, an eminent historian, L. Krzywicki (anthropologist and economist), E. Majewski, S. Balicki.

Ethnography. In this domain there are few collections to be compared with that of the industrious and conscientious writer Kolberg (died 1891), who has published 35 volumes of folk songs, folk lore and popular traditions under the title of "*Lud polski*" (*The Polish people*), and has left an enormous amount of material in manuscript to Cracow Academy. Similar works by Gloger (d. 1910) and J. Karłowicz (1836—1903) are also very justly held in esteem.

Archaeology has been enriched by the researches of J. Lepkowski (d. 1894), Sadowski (d. 1897), Ossowski (d. 1898), Demetrykiewicz, Bienkowski, Hadaczek.

History of Art and Civilisation in Poland: Luszczykiewicz (d. 1900), M. Sokolowski (d. 1911), Lozinski (d. 1913),

Chlendorowski (author of monographs on the Italian Renaissance, which have been translated into several European languages), Mycielski, Boloz-Antoniewicz, Kopera, Tomkowicz, Pagaczewski, Szysko-Bohusz, Szydlowski, Kieszkowski, Batowski, Czolowski.

History of Music: Polinski, Opienski, Jachimecki, Chybinski, Gieburowski.

History of Science: Wrzosek, Zawidzki, Birkenmajers.

History of Public Education: Bielinski, Karbowski, Kucharzewski, Janowski, Madame H. Radlinska. **The Polish Bibliography** of K. Estreicher (1827—1908) is one of the most important works of the kind which have been published in Europe. It is in 30 quarto volumes, and contains a descriptive catalogue of everything printed in Poland from the 15th century to the year 1900. The **Historical Bibliography** compiled by L. Finkel in collaboration with Sawczynski is a manual of the highest value, in which all the sources of Polish historiography are carefully noted. Among bibliographers there ought also to be mentioned Wislocki (d. 1900), J. Korzeniowski, and Suligowski, editor of an exhaustive periodical **Bibliography** published in 1913.

Philology has also experienced a brilliant revival. The following are the most famous Polish linguists:—

Comparative and Classical Philology: Cwiklinski, K. Morawski, Miodonski, Rozwadawski, Sternbach, Sinko, Klinger, Zielinski, Professor at Petrograd.

Roman Philology: Porembowicz, Appel, Stronski, Wendkiewicz.

English Philology: Dybocki.

Slav and Polish Philology: W. Nehring (1830—1909), Professor at Wroclaw (Breslaw), Malecki, Professor at Innsbruck and Lwów (1821—1913), I. and L. Malinowski (d. 1898), Bishop A. Krasinski, Baudouin de Courtenay (1845), of the Petrograd Academy; A. Brückner, Professor at Berlin; A. Kalina (d. 1906), A. Krynski (1844), J. Los, Ulaszyn, Bystron, G. Korbut, K. Nitsch, Krczek, T. Zawilinski, T. Benni, Szober.

Oriental Philology: J. Grzegorzewski, Radlinski, Gawronski.

Criticism. In conformity with the exceptional part which literature has played in the national life, literary criticism, both in important histories of literature in Poland, and in numerous monographs on her writers, has contributed largely to the scientific and literary regeneration of the country. Among literary critics and historians, let us mention first W. Spasowicz (1829—1906), S. Tarnowski (1837), P. Chmielowski (1848—1904), R. Pilat (d. 1906), Brückner (also the author of a remarkable work on Russian literature in German and in Polish). Writers on universal literature include W. Gostomski (1854—1914), J. Swiencicki, M. Zdziechowski, Kasprowicz, Mann. We owe monographs of the first order, and studies of different periods of Polish literature to A. Malecki, Mann, Meyet, B. Chlebowski (1846), J. Tretiak (1841), T. Pini, Belcikowski, S. Ptaszycki, Wierzbowski, Bruchnalski, Windakiewicz, Chrzanowski, Kallenbach, Grabowski, Wojciechowski, Biegeleisen, Gubryniewicz, Czubek, Dobrzycki, J. Pawlikowski, Biernacki, A. Sliwinski, Kleiner, Kridl, Turowski, Szyjkowski Hahn, Z. Wasilewski, Dropiowski, S. Kot, Ujejski, etc.

Science. The experimental method is meeting with more and more success, and natural science is in no way behind history and literature either in the vigour of its talent or in the notable results achieved.

Baraniecki, Puzyna, Kretkowski, Zmurko, Dickstein, Kwietniewski, Zorawski, Sierpinski, Zaremba, Sleszynski, Sochocki, Janiszewski, and J. Lewinski have won fame as mathematicians. The physicists, Wroblewski and Olszewski, succeeded in 1883 in liquefying permanent gases for the first time (air, oxygen, etc.), and in demonstrating their principal properties. Madame Curie, née Sklodowska, professor at the Sorbonne, and winner of the Nobel Prize, is too well known through her wonderful discovery of radium for it to be necessary to dwell here on the immense importance of the achievements of this eminent Polish woman. There should be mentioned also Witkowski (researches on gases and terrestrial magnetism), Abakanowicz of Paris (electricity), L. Natanson and Smoluchowski (molecular physics), Kowalski (phosphorescence), Silberstein (Rome and London), Merczyng (Petrograd), Danysz

(Paris), Przesmycki, K. Zakrzewski, T. Godlewski, Kalinowski, and Z. Straszewicz.

Astronomers: Kowalczyk, Jendrzewicz (cosmography), Rudzki (geophysics), Merecki, Ernst, Banachiewicz, and Birkenmajer.

Chemists: The eminent Nencki, and his school (studies in hemoglobine), Kostanecki, professor at Berne University, who for his researches on colouring matter won the first prize of the French Chemical Society: Radziszewski, Freund, Dzierzgowski (director of the Experimental Medical Institute at Petrograd), Marchlewski (Chlorophyll chemistry), Boguski, Brunner, Tolloczko, Miklaszewski, T. Estreicher, Niementowski, Bandrowski, Dziewonski, Patschke.

Geologists and Geographers: Grzybowski, Sulimierski, Szajnocha, Zuber, Nalkowski, E. Romer, Wojcik, Kuzniar, Sawicki, Michalski.

Mineralogists: Thugutt, Morozwicz (petrology, crystallography), Weyberg and Kreuz.

Botanists: Aleksandrowicz, Cienkowski, Rostafinski, Janczewski, E. Godlewski, Raciborski, Rehman, Rothert, Zapalowicz, Woycicki, Trzebinski.

Microbiologists: Prazmowski, Mayzel.

Zoologists and Biologists: Nussbaum-Hilarowicz, Hirschler, Kostanecki (embryology), Garbowski, M. Siedlecki, E. Godlewski, junior, Laskowski, Teichmann, Wierzejski, Hoyer, Bochenek (anatomy and comparative anatomy), Stymonowicz, Maziarski (histology), Kowalewski (helminthology), Sznabl, Dziedzicki, Tur, Kwietniewski junior, Sztolcman, Kulczynski (arachnology).

Anthropologists and Ethnologists: Kopernicki (d. 1891), Talko-Hryniewicz, Stolyhwo Poniatowski, Pilsudzki.

Bacteriologists: Nowak, R. Nitsch, Droba.

Physiologists: Przybylski, N. Cybulski, Sosnowski, Popielski.

Professors of Medicine: Postempski (Rome), Galenowski, Babinski, W. H. Jaworski (Paris), Mierzejewski, Czeczott (Petrograd), Baranowski, Pawinski, Dmochowski, L. Krynski, Brudzynski (Warsaw), Chlapowski, Jankowski (Poznan), Dietl, Mikulicz, Korczynski, Jurasz, Gluzinski,

Rydygier, Rutkowski, Kader, Ziembicki, Kadyi, Browicz, Parenski (Cracow and Lwów).

All the phases of contemporary thought in France, in England and in Germany have been studied and appreciated by Polish philosophers. They owe much to A. Comte, Taine, H. Spencer, Wundt, K. Marx, John Stuart Mill. Among the Positivist philosophers we should mention Krupinski (1836—1898), Ochorowicz (1850), Swientochowski, the psychologist, J. Dawid, Mahrburg (Theory of Finality). Struwe (1840—1912) was the founder of a system of realistic idealism (Introduction to Philosophy).

Towards the end of the 19th century materialism and positivism began to give way to idealistic tendencies on the one hand, and the application of experimental methods to philosophical science on the other. We will mention in this connection: A. Dzieduszycki (Human Science), Pawlicki (History of Greek Philosophy, Renan), Straszewski (History of Polish Thought), Bieganski, Lutoslawski (an eminent Platonist), Twardowski, Madame Ioteyko (director of the first Pedagogic institute in Europe, founded at Brussels. She was recently invited to Paris by the Collège de France as Professor of Psychology), Garbowski, Heinrich, Rubczynski and Gabryl (scholastic philosophy), Raciborski, W. Lukasiewicz, Sobeski (æsthetics), Wartenberg, Zoltowski, Jakubanis, Tatarkiewicz, Znaniecki, Horodyski. Nor must there be omitted from this list M. Abramowski, the director of the laboratory of psychology at Warsaw.

Summary. Although Poland was civilized some time after other Western nations, she was as early as the 15th century on a level with the most enlightened countries in Europe. In the 17th century, special circumstances, disastrous wars, an exaggerated political individualism impeded her progress. The assiduous industry with which she devoted herself to the work of intellectual reconstruction during the last years of her independence was nullified by her dismemberment. Nevertheless, in spite of the obstacles which a subject nation finds in the path of its development, Poland has not ceased to cultivate the sciences with zeal, and has taken an increasingly important part in the common work of progress. This is all the more remark-

able because in the accomplishment of this task Poland (with the exception of Galicia) has had to rely solely on the enterprise of her citizens, an enterprise which has been continually hindered and impeded.

The Polish population in Europe numbers 23 million, yet for that population there are only two universities, and one polytechnic, all three in Galicia and only modestly endowed. The result is that Polish students have the greatest difficulty in procuring education, and that numbers of Polish professors are forced to emigrate, carrying to foreign countries the learning which should benefit their own land. It cannot be doubted that the contributions of Poland to universal knowledge, considerable as they are, would be much greater if normal political conditions gave them the facilities possessed by other cultivated nations who are assisted in the work of civilisation by their own national governments.

CHAPTER III

SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS

INSTITUTIONS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER

The Academy of Sciences, the successor of the former Association of the Friends of Science of Cracow, has been since 1873 the central organisation of all scientific study in Poland. Divided into three departments, history and philosophy, philology, mathematical and natural sciences, it has several autonomous branches: (1) History of Polish Philosophy; (2) Jurisprudence; (3) History; (4) History of Art; (5) Anthropology; (6) Literature and Public Education in Poland; (7) Philology; (8) Languages; (9) Physiography; (10) History of Science. Besides the Monthly Bulletin published in four languages (French, English, German, Latin), it had published up to 1913 303 volumes of Memoranda and Reports, 188 volumes of Archives and scientific monographs. President: Professor Count S. Tarnowski. General Secretary: M. B. Ulanowski. The Academy possesses scientific branches at Paris (with a library of 100,00 volumes), at Rome, and at Constantinople.

II. The Association of Friends of Science at Poznan. Founded in 1857, it consists of five sections. It has published 56 volumes of Annals. To it we owe also many important collections of historical documents.

III. The Scientific Society of Torun (Thorn) founded in 1876. Two permanent publications: Annals and Notes. It has also published "Sources" for the history of West Prussia.

IV. The Scientific Society of Warsaw founded in 1907. Four permanent scientific branches. Ten laboratories. Annals 7 volumes.

V. The Society of Friends of Science at Wilno founded

in 1906. Library. Collections. Laboratories. Annals 7 volumes.

VI., VII., VIII. The Scientific Societies of Plock, Pabianice, and Przemysl, have their special libraries and issue various publications.

IX., X., XI. At Lwów (Leopolis) the Society of University Professors, the Society for the Advancement of Science, the Literary Scientific Union, are conspicuously active, and also issue learned publications.

XII. **The Mianowski Trust at Warsaw**, founded in 1881, makes grants to persons who undertake scientific research. It possesses a capital of nearly 5,000,000 francs (derived from 83 legacies) and assists the publication of periodicals and works on special subjects. In 1914 (during the war) it distributed in this way funds amounting to 470,000 francs, of which 73,000 francs were devoted to the publication of philosophical works.

XIII. Thanks to the generosity of one of her sons, Poland has her own Nobel prize. This prize, founded by the late E. Jerzmanowski, amounts to 45,000 francs, the interest on a capital of 1,300,000 francs, and is awarded each year to a Pole who has particularly distinguished himself either in literature or science or by his philanthropy.

Polish scientists not only take an active part in international congresses, but also organise national ones. There have been five such congresses of jurisconsults and economists, eleven of naturalists and physicians (with an attendance of over 600), four of historians, etc.

INSTITUTIONS OF A SPECIAL CHARACTER¹

SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATIONS

Philosophy, Psychology and Allied Studies. I.—VII.
Philosophical Societies at Lwów and Cracow, Philosophical

¹To avoid repetition there have not been included in this list the Branches of the Academy of Cracow, nor those of the General Societies, nor their organs (annals, reports, archives of branches, etc.). We also omit the Scientific Clubs of the University students, although their publications are far from negligible. We are concerned here only with independent learned societies.

Institute, Society for Psychological Studies, Society for the Psychological Study of Infancy at Warsaw, Pedagogic Institute at Cracow, Pedagogic Society at Lwów.

Publications. The Philosophical Review (under the direction of M. Weryho, 61 vols.), The Philosophical Movement, Science and Life. There are ten other flourishing permanent philosophical publications of a monographic character.

History—History of Art. VIII.—XV. Historical Societies of Cracow, Warsaw and Lwów. Heraldic Society at Lwów. Society of Numismatics and Society of the Friends of History at Cracow. Societies for the Protection of Historic Buildings at Cracow and Warsaw, with numerous branches.

Publications. The Historical Review, The Historical Quarterly, Lithuania and Ruthenia (Quarterly), The Heraldic Review, The Numismatic Review, The Cracow Annals, The Cracow Library, The Musical Review.

Jurisprudence, Political Economy, Ethnography. XVI.—XXII. The Jurisprudence and Political Economy Societies at Warsaw (3 sections).

Political Economy Societies at Cracow, at Lwów and Poznan. The Statistical Society at Cracow. Folk-Lore Societies at Lwów and Poznan.

Publications. The Law and Civil Service Review, The Polish Themis, The Economist, The Juridico-Economic Journal, The Law-Courts Gazette (weekly), etc. Ethnography: "The Earth," "The Race," and "The Vistula."

Philology, Literary History, Bibliography. XXIII.—XXV. The Philological Society, the Mickiewicz Literary Society at Lwów; the Slav Society at Cracow.

Publications. Eos (Philology) Annals of Slavdom, Literary Memoirs, Bibliographical Guide, The Book, Annals of Oriental Studies.

Among the monthly reviews which, besides containing articles on historical and philosophical subjects devote a large space to science and literature, we may mention The Warsaw Library, The Polish Review (Cracow), The Universal Review, The Slav World, The Scientific and Literary Guide.

Mathematics and Natural Science. XXVI.—XXXII.

The Societies of Polish Naturalists (Copernic Societies) at Lwów and Cracow. Society of the Friends of Nature, The Mathematical Club at Warsaw, The Radiology Institute, and The Society for the Advancement of Knowledge of the Country at Warsaw (with 22 provincial branches), The Tatra Society, Medical and Health Societies (in Warsaw since 1817) in all towns of importance.

Publications. Kosmos (39 volumes); The Universe (edited by M. Znatowicz); Physiographical Memoranda; The Physiographical Atlas of Polish Territory (published by the Dzieduszycki Museum at Lwów); Mathematical and Physical Works (published since 1888); Mathematical Notes (1895), Wektor. Several Medical publications are issued in the principal towns.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE

THE MIDDLE AGES

Early Manuscripts. The origin of Polish literature dates back to the time when Christianity was introduced into the country. Monasteries and Church schools spread education, giving special attention to Latin, which formed a powerful link between Poland and the West. The 10th and 11th centuries saw the appearance of the Monastic Chronicles. The most ancient original manuscript, the "Chronicles of Holy Cross," dates from the 12th century. At the same time Gallus wrote his History of Poland, W. Kadlubek, Baszko, John of Czarnkow (son of a humble burgher), in the course of the next two centuries, left records comparable to the great mediæval chronicles in France. The "Antigameratus," a didactic poem by Frovinus, Canon of Cracow, was famous in the 14th century; many copies were circulated in Germany.

Advent of Humanism. The foundation of Cracow University in 1364 brought forth an active intellectual movement, which was increased by the advent of Humanism. Polish theologians and learned men were known throughout Europe (see **Education** and **Science**). Pope Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) admired Cardinal Z. Olesnicki as a Latin stylist, and said it was a reproach to the Germans that they had not produced an intellect comparable to his. Gregory of Sanok, Archbishop of Lwów, a poet and a brilliant Virgilian commentator, was a worthy rival of the great contemporary Humanists. John of Wislica wrote the "Prussian War" in verse of purely classic structure.

Philip Callimachus (Buonacorsi), 1437—1496, an Italian who had settled in Poland, and a famous historian and biographer, warmly eulogised Polish intellectual culture at

this period. Dlugosz (Longinus, 1415—1480), author of a vast History of Poland, is remarkable for his judicious use of documents, and may be regarded as one of the pioneers in scientific history. John Ostorog (1430—1501), an ardent patriot, showed in his political writings that he was in advance of his time in his ideas on religious liberty and social equality. All this vigorous intellectual activity attracted the great German Humanist Conrad Celtes to Cracow, and he founded there an academy which became a centre for learned men from all parts of the country and from abroad (*Societas Vistulana*).

Early Works in Polish. By the side of this literature, Latin in language but Polish in spirit, there appeared religious works and legal documents in Polish of which the most ancient, those of the 11th and 12th centuries, are known to us only from allusions at a later date. The fine "Hymn to the Holy Virgin" ("*Bogarodzica*"), 13th century, became the national war song and was handed down from generation to generation. Poems like "*Wiclef*" (the English reformer Wycliffe, who died in 1384), ascribed to A. Galka, are an eloquent proof that the Poles were in close touch with European thought.

In the 15th century a whole literature, akin to that of mediæval Europe, was in existence in the Polish tongue: bibles, psalters, legal codes, religious hymns, dialogues, satires, fables, moral discourses, treatises on chivalry. They show the peculiar characteristics of the Polish race as well as the general spirit of Western civilisation. The first attempts at printing in Poland were made in 1475,¹ 25 years after Gutenberg's invention, and barely six years after its introduction in France.

THE GOLDEN AGE

In the 16th century the genius of Poland burst into flower and attained its highest development. Art, or the expression of beauty, in various forms, was brought within the reach of every one. Education spread everywhere,

¹ *Joannis de Turzeczemata: Explanatio in Psalterium. Omnes Libri S. Augustini* Cracow.

penetrating even to the masses of the people. The burgher class was rich and enlightened. The clergy and the magnates competed with the Jagiello dynasty in the cultivation of art and letters. The rural nobility, a very numerous class, applied themselves to intellectual study with an enthusiasm worthy of the preponderant position that it had gained in the Republic.

Polish literature at this time was affected by two influences—Humanism, and an ever-increasing national consciousness. The sobriety and elegance of the classics formed excellent Latin authors, satirists and letter-writers, such as the eminent prelates A. Krzycki and J. Dantyszek, and K. Janicki (1515—1543), a simple peasant who won the laurel wreath reserved by the Popes for the greatest poets (Petrarch, Tasso). A little later there arose theologians and Catholic polemists who wrote in the purest Latin: Cardinal Hosius, one of the Presidents of the Council of Trent; M. Kromer, the historian (1512—1589); the Protestant writer J. Laski, and many others.

The Reformation. The influence of the Reformation made itself felt in Poland. It was responsible for a profusion of works of propaganda: pamphlets, epistles, sermons, poems, etc., devoted to religious questions, and written for the most part in the vernacular to make them accessible to all classes of the population. If Protestants made the most extensive use of this weapon, Catholics were not long in imitating them. Religious controversies and the clash of opposing tendencies revealed the wealth of the national mind. Polish literature nobly manifested that religious and political liberalism which at a time when Europe was given over to religious wars and massacres, generously protected all opinions, even the most extreme; all sects, even the most daring, and this in a country with a huge Catholic majority. This is an eloquent testimony to the spirit of democracy and liberty inherent in the race.

Wealth and variety, the fine quality both of the matter and the form, grandeur and nobility of sentiment, wisdom and originality of thought, moral and intellectual sanity, are all united in the works of the 16th century, when Polish won a decisive victory over Latin. Some of the masterpieces of this time written in language, which

still serves as a model, have lost none of their beauty or their literary value. Even at this time Polish literature was distinguished by an ardent patriotism which animated all its productions, whether Latin or Polish, scientific or poetic. The Humanists, cosmopolitans elsewhere, were patriots in Poland.

Kochanowski. In the abundance of its talent, in the beauty and robust good sense of its works, the literature of the Golden Age in Poland yields to none. First Nicholas Rey (1505—1569), a satirical moralist, and a rather prolix narrative writer, is typical of his race, and represents admirably, alike in his qualities and his defects, its characteristic tendencies. Then comes Jan Kochanowski (1530—1584), a consummate artist and the incarnation of the national spirit. After having studied at Padua and at Paris, where he became intimate with Ronsard, he returned to Poland full of the ideas inspired by the Renaissance. An enthusiastic Hellenist, he was inspired by the ancients in his fine drama, "The Return of the Greek Ambassadors." He did not neglect popular subjects, however ("The Fires of St. John," "Sobótki") and in verse of rare music and incomparable skill, he expresses his own personal sufferings ("Elegies on the Death of his Daughter") as well as his patriotic and religious feeling ("The Standard," "The Psalter").

The work of Kochanowski exercised a fruitful influence, and he had many talented imitators and disciples. S. Szarzyński (1553—1581), who died young, left some beautiful verse full of melancholy and of the religious unrest which agitated his heart. A lover of the pastoral in nature, K. Miaskowski (1549—1622) showed, nevertheless, a virulent energy in his political verse. The results of an excellent Humanist education can be seen both in the manner and the matter of the writings of the two burgher poets, Klonowicz and Szymonowicz, who were equally skilled in Latin and Polish verse. In "Roxolania" S. Klonowicz (1545—1602) gives a vivid description of the charms of his beloved province, and in his satires pillories the faults and vices of various classes of society. S. Szymonowicz (1557—1629), an accomplished student of the life of antiquity, wrote dramas and idylls in classic form, all characterised by a

rare delicacy of feeling and by a style as restrained as it is plastic. His idylls, in which, in a series of pictures of arresting truthfulness, he unfolds the humble vicissitudes and joys of the life of the toilers of the fields, enjoy a well-deserved reputation.

Political and Religious Writings. In conformity with the spirit of the times, political and religious writings occupied an important place. A. Frycz Modrzewski (1503—1572), a thinker and a social reformer, was remarkable for the profundity and elevation of his liberal and democratic ideas. His works, which were soon translated into French and German, met with great appreciation. The richness and vehemence of a true Renaissance temperament are seen in the dialogues and pamphlets of S. Orzechowski (1513—1566); L. Gornicki (1527—1605), a diplomat and a convinced monarchist, adapted the "Courtisan" from the Italian of Castiglione, and transformed it into a picture of Polish life. K. Warszewicki (1543—1603), an historian, and an eloquent orator, wrote on political questions with exceptional judgment and sagacity. He was an ardent defender of the royal power.

Skarga. Various religious tendencies are represented authoritatively by Wajek, Gregory of Zarnowiec, Trzeciński, but Peter Skarga (1536—1612) surpassed them all. This orator and writer created works destined for immortality through the power of their language, through their patriotism, and the loftiness of their sentiments ("Sermons to the Diet," "Lives of the Saints").

In every field of literature works of the highest value were produced. Among those who won fame in their own country and in some cases were translated and admired abroad were the historians M. Bielski (1495—1575), known also as a satirist and dramatist; Hejdenstein and Strykowski, P. Paprocki (1543—1614), heraldist and satirist; the eminent professor, Glicznier; the Polish grammarian, Parkosz; the learned Aristotelian commentator, Petrycki (Petricius), the Ciceronian commentator, Nidecki, and many others (see chapter on **Science**).

Oratory. The parliamentary institutions which Poland possessed at an early date, and the impulsive character of the nation contributed to the rapid development of the art of

speech. Eloquence was a power in every department of public life, and was manifested in discourses worthy to rank with those of the most famous orators in Europe. The Jagiello sovereigns were orators of the first rank, and so were certain magnates and senators such as J. Zamoyski, Tarnowski, and Bishop Ciolek. Members of the Diets and preachers like Orzechowski, Solikowski, Skarga, Sokolowski, and Powodowski drew crowds to hear them.

Plays. Dramatic art, evolved from religious mysteries (the dramas of Rey, of Bielski, and of Szymonowicz), was manifested in some interesting plays showing the influence of Humanism (J. Kochanowski, Jurkowski).

Printing had now become very general. There were at least 100 printing establishments, which by the end of the 16th century had issued about 9,000 works, a very high figure for the period.

PERIOD OF TRANSITION

The political crisis of the 17th century exercised a depressing influence on Polish literature as on that of many other countries. Like Italy and Germany, Poland entered a period of severe trial, and a general lowering of the standard of intellectual production was the result.

The wars which raged in Europe, and above all the Thirty Years' War, loosened the ties which in preceding centuries had bound Poland to other civilised countries. Swedish, Tartar, Turkish, Cossack and Muscovite invasions devastated the country and absorbed its best energies. These struggles also led to the predominance of the nobility, the military class, over the other classes of the nation, which gradually sank back into obscurity, and ceased almost entirely to take any part in intellectual life. Finally, the Jesuit Order, as in other Catholic countries, obtained control of all education, and for more than a century exerted an exclusive influence upon the intellect of the country.

17th century. In spite of this, the great traditions of the Renaissance were not entirely extinguished. P. Kochanowski translated the epics of Ariosto and Tasso into verse, and A. Kochanowski did the same for Virgil (end of the 16th century); M. Sarbiewski (1595—1640) won through

his Latin poems an European reputation, and was crowned with the laurel of Petrarch at the Capitol. Two brothers of burgher origin, Joseph and Simon Zimorowicz (1597—1677 and 1608—1629), won admiration for their eclogues, which are distinguished by the freshness and refinement of their inspiration. The brothers H. and A. Morsztyn published charming love poems in the French style. Andrew Morsztyn (1613—1693) produced a skilful adaptation of Corneille's "Cid" which was acted at the court of King Jan-Kasimir. Nevertheless, Humanism declined and thought was dulled. Although works of value continued to appear, the standard of learning became sensibly lower. (See chapter on **Science**.) Among the authors of this period we rarely find that powerful inspiration which animated their predecessors in the 16th century and gave them ideas of world-wide significance.

The terrible Turkish menace, which was always hanging over Europe at this time, kindled religious and military ardour. The literature of the period reflects this tendency. The nobility were inspired with the idea that a special historic mission had devolved on Poland, and the country proclaimed herself with conviction the shield of Christian Europe against the Mussulman. Literature betrays neglect and, to a certain degree, even contempt of Humanist elegance. The language alters; Latin interpolations, parades of superficial learning, begin to corrupt prose, and sometimes to disfigure poetry. On the other hand purely national elements, sprung directly from the soil, are more marked than ever. Literature reflects faithfully the noisy and picturesque provincial nobility, with all its roughness and its shrewdness, its simple, sane tastes, its sincere love of nature. Descriptions of patriarchal customs, of country life, with all its petty anxieties, songs of love and war—such constituted the intellectual fare of the century, which also had a taste for sermons and pious meditations. S. Twardowski, the writer of bombastic and confused rhymed military chronicles, was the idol of his contemporaries. Besides copious collections of poems, satires and romances in verse, W. Potocki, the greatest Polish poet of this time, left several rhymed romances of his own, and in "The War of Chocim" a fine and virile epic. W. Koch-

anowski (1633—1700), the singer of the Polish countryside, expresses in magnificent accents in his "Psalmody" (Szlichting) the war-like and religious spirit of his time. The spontaneous talent of this soldier improviser charms us by reason of its touching simplicity and the naïvety of its lyricism. Niemirycz was a pioneer in "vers libre."

A vast quantity of memoirs, collections of notes, stray memories, anecdotes, "*silvae rerum*," have been handed down from this period. They abound in picturesque impressions of the life of the nobility of the period. Characteristic examples are to be found in the memoirs of J. C. Paeks and of E. Otwinowski. The history of the drama, in addition to innumerable interludes and moralities written by the Jesuits, can show some famous names such as those of Zawicki, Baryka, etc.

The political and literary reaction after having produced in the domain of oratory the vigorous if florid talent of such orators as the Jesuits, F. Birkowski (1566—1636) and T. Młodzianowski, was signalised at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries by a deluge of discourses, panegyrics, dissertations, in which social, historical and theological questions were treated, often, it must be confessed, in a somewhat narrow and sectarian spirit. Nevertheless, intolerance, with the exception of a few rare coercive measures against dissidents, never assumed a violent character as in France, England, Spain, etc.

Caste exclusiveness, however, asserted itself more and more. The nobles ended by worshipping their very defects and those of the Constitution. They pushed individualism in the State to its extreme limits. Its champion, A. M. Fredro (1621—1679) made it his business to defend these principles. In poetry the bad taste reigning at the close of this period is seen in the works of the poetess E. Druzbicka (1695—1765), which are however not devoid either of talent or sincerity. We ought to remark here that those erroneous ideas about the supposed "aristocraticism" of Poland, ideas which are still current in Europe, are based on a judgment too severe and are warranted only by this unique period in her history.

Liberalism of Polish Authors. In fact, it is still the "Szlachta," the anarchical squirearchy of the 17th and

18th centuries, who represent the Polish nation in the eyes of people who forget the profound changes which have taken place during the last two centuries. This idea, unpardonable at the present day, was always partial and prejudiced. The opinions of the "Szlachta" were never shared by the élite of the country. Standing aloof from that turbulent crowd, serious patriots meditated on the dangers of excessive liberty and on the extreme injustice of the lot reserved for the people. "I challenge anyone," writes a French professor,² "to find in French literature of the 16th and 17th centuries as many lamentations, reproaches and denunciations as you can find on the same subject in Polish authors." Without going back as far as Skarga (1536—1612), who pronounced himself with ardour in favour of the enslaved peasants, we can quote S. Starowolski (1588—1649), who, in his "Reform of Polish Customs," pleads for the liberty of the tillers of the soil, a class oppressed in every European country. Bishop P. Piasecki (1580—1649) claims equal rights for noble, burgher and peasant. The magnate, K. Opalinski (1610—1655), in his celebrated satires, mercilessly castigates all those who exploit the miserable rural population. A. Olizarowski, in his work on the "Political Society of Mankind," was the first to put forward on principle, and not as a matter of sentiment and religion, those claims which have since been formulated in Europe in the name of the workers. He speaks with the voice of Rousseau, and a century earlier. Stanislaus Lobo-mirski (1702) anticipated Fénelon, and like the author of "Telemachus," protested against the taxes which weighed heavily on the peasantry. King Stanislas Leszczynski, in his "Voice of Freedom," demanded among other reforms the abolition of serfdom. Finally S. Konarski (1700—1773) did not stop at expressing enlightened ideas in his profound treatise "A Practical Method of Deliberation," but helped to propagate them through the efficacious reform of education in the College for Nobles which he founded.

² M. Henri Grappin, in his article on "Aristocratic Poland," from which some more passages are quoted later on.

PERIOD OF REVIVAL. CLASSICISM

The sojourn of King Stanislas Leszczynski in Lorraine, a country which he ruled for 28 years, helped to consolidate the relations between Poland and France. The more intellectual classes became familiar with French thought; Polish patriots, anxious about the dangers threatening their country, consulted Mably and Rousseau, who responded in writings which are still famous. The works of Voltaire and Rousseau were in all hands; they were studied, commented on, and translated several times. The ideas of the Encyclopædists spread rapidly.

Literature after the First Partition. The blow of the First Partition gave an impetus to the movement of regeneration. The problem of social and political reform gave rise to a great many pamphlets, and works of a larger scope. The rights of man, the idea of progress, and an ardent patriotism animate the works of S. Staszic (1755—1826), of that prudent statesman H. Kollontaj (1750—1812), of S. Konarski and J. Wybycki, etc.; from a mass of pamphlets and occasional verse of a satiric nature there emerge by reason of their biting vigour the satires of Zablocki (1750—1821). Art and literature had a sincere friend and generous patron in Stanislas Augustus, a monarch of æsthetic tastes. His “Thursday Banquets” became a kind of literary “salon” where the most distinguished Polish writers and philosophers used to meet. Among those who frequented the Court of this sovereign were Bishop A. Naruszewicz (1733—1796), a poet and a historian of great ability; Bishop J. Krasicki (1733—1801), a subtle satirist and brilliant writer of fables, whose poems, romances, and didactic writings, reflecting the Encyclopædist movement, exercised a profound influence on several generations. There also could be found that malicious satirist, Chamberlain K. Wengierski (1755—1787) and S. Trembecki (1735—1812), a vigorous and learned poet who did much to reform literary style. The King himself wrote some excellent memoirs, a form of composition for which there was at this period a great vogue. In this connection should be mentioned the memoirs

of A. Kitowicz (d. 1804), Matuszewicz, Kopic, Ochocki, and those of the famous adventurer, M. Beniowski.

Prince A. Czartoryski (1734—1823), a learned patron of letters, was the special protector of F. Karpiński (1741—1825), and of F. D. Kniaźnin (1750—1807), representatives of the sentimental school, whose work often inspired by folk-poetry has a peculiar charm of its own. All these writers show traces of French influence; their code was Horace's "Poetic Art" as interpreted by Boileau, whose works were translated into Polish by Dmochowski.

The destruction of the Republic arrested this intellectual activity for a time, but soon the wars of independence stimulated the talent of two poets who as soldiers in the Polish Legion fought under the French flag for the restoration of their lost country. These were C. Godebski (d. 1809), and J. Wybicki (d. 1822), author of the national song "Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła" (Poland is not yet dead).

Effect of the National Disasters. In the succeeding period (1807—1831) it was not long before a revival of the same literary movement began, but the disasters which had overtaken the country gave it henceforth a graver character. Writers concern themselves solely with their unfortunate country, and have but one object—to encourage and strengthen it in its sore trial. Poetry becomes intentionally didactic; it propagates love of the native land and its history, and spreads knowledge likely to be useful and practical.

Bishop J. P. Woronicz (1757—1829) in his historical poems (*The Temple of the Sibyl*) as well as in his eloquent sermons and learned writings proclaims the certain triumph of justice, and the resurrection of Poland. J. U. Niemcewicz (1758—1841), a man of versatile talent, published realistic satires and historical ballads which children still learn by heart. He created a new literary form presenting in the guise of fiction all sorts of national and social problems (*Lejbe and Siora*). Under the influence of English romanticism he wrote the first Polish ballads, and the first historical Polish novel (*Jan of Tenczyn*, 1818); K. Kozmian (1771—1856) is the author of magnificent odes and of a long poem modelled on Virgil's *Georgics*. The poet Osinski (1775—1838) made the world's literature his study

in the manner of La Harpe. Tomaszewski celebrated the glories of the Jagiello age.

Niemcewicz, and two other poets, Wenzyk and Morawski, represent the period of transition from classicism to romanticism. F. Wenzyk (1785—1862), although he supported the new romantic movement, especially in drama, adhered to classicism in his own works. F. Morawski (1783—1861) besides his Fables in which he castigates the weaknesses and eccentricities of mankind, wrote "The House of my Grandfather," in which he depicts with a master hand types of the gentlefolk of another day. We must also mention W. Reklewski (d. 1812), who in his fascinating and sincere idylls substitutes popular types for the conventional Arcadian "shepherds" of the period.

Polish prose at this time recovered its position, was perfected, and acquired a special place in the literature of culture. Towards the end of this period it was strongly influenced by the romantic movement which was becoming more and more powerful all over Europe.

F. Bernatowicz (1786—1836), following the example of Niemcewicz, wrote some excellent historical novels based on Polish and Lithuanian history. In the same field a Pole, Princess of Würtemberg (née Czartoryska, 1768—1858) wrote "Malwina," a novel of sentiment which was taken as a model by Kropinski, and a series of imitators. Madame K. Hoffmann (née Tanska, 1798—1845) spread knowledge of the historical and literary past of her country through numerous novels and popular works. Madame Jaraczewska (née Krasinska, 1792—1832) championed the rights of women, and demanded justice for the oppressed peasants in the name of progress and humanity. In her novels are to be found some interesting attempts at psychological analysis which are considerably in advance of her time.

The Drama began to shake off its apathy at the end of the 18th century, thanks to Bohomolec (1720—1784), and above all to Zablocki (1750—1821) who made adaptations of Molière and other leading French dramatists. W. Boguslawski (1757—1829), "The Father of the Polish Theatre," actor and author, made truthful studies of popular types. Niemcewicz brought the questions of the day on to the stage. J. Kaminski (1777—1855) carried on

with ability the traditions of Boguslawski. And last, but not least, A. Felinski (1771—1820) produced a fine classical tragedy in "Radziwill," the masterpiece of the period.

Oratory. Secular oratory at this time can also show a brilliant record. King Stanislas Augustus, many deputies and senators in the Grand Diet, such as J. Potocki, Suchodolski, Malachowski, Weyssenhof, and, in the 19th century, the brothers Niemojewski, were all gifted with irresistible eloquence. So were Piramowicz (1735—1801), and S. Potocki, known as "golden mouth," Minister for Public Education, and author of a good manual of rhetoric. The Encyclopædist spirit which dominated the time was hardly favourable to flights of religious oratory, but Woronicz, bishop and poet, won fame through his impassioned and moving sermons.

ROMANTICISM

National Feeling. The charm of the past, the allure-ment of popular poetry, soon began to act on Polish writers. In the early days of the 19th century we find this tendency in some of Kollantaj's writings, as also in the poems of W. Reklewski, and A. Brodzinski. Henceforth it was a question only of development and of emancipation from English and German influences. In 1818 Chodakowski (Czarnocki), "The Slaves before Christianity," and the poet K. Brodzinski (1791—1835), "Classicism and Romanticism," definitely embraced "romanticism," and anticipated Victor Hugo's celebrated preface to *Cromwell* (1827). Brodzinski, in his capacity of professor of literature, gave an original interpretation to Villemain's theories. His muse, sentimental and sometimes epic, owed much to popular sources.

Messianism. In Poland as elsewhere Romanticism was before all a protest against intellectualism and the severe discipline imposed upon sentiment by obsolete æsthetic formulæ. But from the first it sounded in Poland a political and national note. The attacks on Poland's freedom, the persecution and banishment of the "Philaretists" (as the young men of the country who headed an ethical movement were called), the deportation of certain poets, including Mickiewicz, who were exiled to remote

parts of Russia, provoked a violent agitation. Bitterness and anger overflowed. Finally the disasters of 1831 led to emigration on a large scale in which the best elements in the country were involved. The resources of individualism, liberated by the romantic movement, were no longer used to nourish struggles between rival literary creeds. Polish poets were henceforth the avengers of outraged justice, the defenders of the rights of nations, the apostles of national liberty and independence. Whatever their talent, all alike are fired with the loftiest patriotism. Their enslaved country became the calvary round which all their thoughts and emotions revolved. Exile and home-sickness for their native land led them towards inspired heights. Only a step separated them from extravagant exaltation and mysticism. The unheard-of crime of the Partitions, the vivisection of a nation, seemed to some Polish thinkers to have been accomplished in accordance with the design of Providence. Poland, for the time buried in a grave, was to them the victim chosen to expiate the faults of humanity, the Christ among the nations, charged to redeem their sins. This doctrine, known as Messianism, was embraced by many Polish philosophers and poets, among others by Mickiewicz, Krasinski, Slowacki, Cieszkowski, Trentowski, and was not without influence on some great French and Italian writers, such as Lamennais, Montalembert, Michelet, Quinet, T. Canonico, Cardinal Puecker Passavali, etc. The greater part of its adherents grouped themselves round a remarkable man, the mystic Towianski.

With the advent of romanticism, Polish literature acquired again as in the 16th century a world-wide significance. Some of its poets can be ranked with the greatest men of genius of all time—with Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe and Byron. They owed very little to foreign influences and in time became absolutely independent of them. General ideas assume in their works an essentially national character.

Adam Mickiewicz, born at Zaosie (Lithuania) in 1798, died in 1855. His genius had a decisive influence on the transformation of the spirit of Poland, which far from being depressed by the national ruin, was elevated and strengthened by misfortune. Mickiewicz's work became

the national bible. His poetry simple, lucid, as remarkable for colour as for sculptural form, is animated by lofty feeling, strength of will and profound thought. After some magnificent poems ("Ode to Youth," "The Ancestors," "Conrad Wallenrod") he reached inspired heights in his famous improvisation "Forefathers" (III.) His final work was a great national epic, "Pan Thaddaeus," that prodigious invocation of ancient Polish times so dear to every Polish heart. After being Professor of Latin at Lausanne University (1839—40), Mickiewicz was appointed to the chair of Slav literature at the Collège de France (1840—44), where he rivalled Michelet and Quinet in eloquence, and developed his theories on the character of the Slav race and on its high mission.

Jules Slowacki, born at Krzemieniec (Wolhynia), 1809, died 1849, represents another aspect of the Polish spirit, with its boundless individualism, its power of imagination, and its magical fantasy. He gave new wealth and life to the poetic language of his country, and gifted with profound psychological intuition and a sense of the theatre was able to write most moving and imaginative dramas (see below). Besides his lyrics and poems ("Anelli," "In Switzerland," "The Father of the Plague-stricken," "Bienowski") he left a mystical epic in "King Mind," which shows the most finished art.

Sigismund Krasinski was born at Paris in 1812, and died in 1859. A poet, and a profound thinker, he made social conflicts his special study ("The Undivine Comedy"). In "Iridion," a grandiose tableau-drama, depicting the struggle of pagan Rome against nascent Christianity, he propounds some of the most vexed questions of the moral life of humanity. He views the martyrdom of Poland as a historical and philosophical problem of universal significance ("Before Dawn") and in his philosophical works ("Treatise on the Trinity") he assigns to his country the sublime mission of Christianising the world.³

For two generations the romantic movement produced a profusion of talent, and was responsible for the birth of

³ H. Gabriel Sarrazin has made an excellent study of these three great poets.

many different schools. It also restored popular and local elements to the place of honour in poetry. The provinces of the Republic, with their many picturesque aspects, their motley populations and diverse customs, found in their poets sympathetic and faithful chroniclers. Without succumbing to any parochial narrowness, they contributed the particular spirit of their native province to the general intellectual wealth of their country. We are able only to devote a few words to the more important of these schools which are an ornament to Polish literature.

The Ukraine School. With this school the names of three great Polish poets are associated. The adventurous life of the nobility, the melancholy of the infinite Steppe, are reflected in the beautiful "Marie" of A. Malczewski (1793—1826), who died when he was still very young. B. Zaleski (1802—1886) expresses the chivalrous ideals of the Ukraine in poems of rare music and translucent purity ("The Waves," "Songs," or "Dumki.") His "Holy Family" is a precious monument of the poet's religious feeling. The poems of S. Goszczynski (1801—1876) describe with terrible realism the dark passions of the Cossacks and the atrocities of civil war ("The Castle of Kaniow.") In other writings he probes the national conscience to its depths ("The King of Castel").

The Lithuanian School, in its early stages was composed of a group of several gifted poets under the influence of Mickiewicz (J. Zan, A. Chodzko, J. Korsak, E. Odyniec). Later its most eminent representative was L. Kondratowicz (Syrokomila), 1823—1862. In spite of certain defects few European poets have expressed with more power and sympathy the misery and suffering of the destitute ("Janko the Digger," "Demborog").

The Poznanian School. Among the Poznanians are J. Garczynski (1805—1833), the author of "Sonnets of War" and "History of Wacław," a remarkable philosophical poem; R. Berwinski (1819—1879), author of some beautiful love poems and the possessor of a malicious wit, which he exercised at the expense of his contemporaries; W. Pol (1807—72), a prolific poet, who devoted his great talent to reviving the past, singing of the beauties of nature in Poland and of the patriarchal life of the nobles and

"szlachta" ("The Songs of Janusz Mohort"). Madame N. Zmichowska (1819—1876), poetess and novelist, joined to an exquisite style a great gift for acute psychological analysis, and very sincere feeling ("The Peasant Girl"). Less fertile in poetic invention, T. Lenartowicz (1822—1893) expressed through the medium of popular stories his love of Masovia, his native soil, and the village of his fathers ("The Little Lyre"). Three poets maintained the heroic traditions of romanticism. The muse of K. Ujejski (1823—1897) thrills with indignation and patriotic grief ("Marathon," "The Lamentations of Jeremiah"). The writings of M. Romanowski (1834—1863) burn with valiant courage and warlike ardour. L. Sowinski (1831—1887) attacks social problems with generous vehemence ("In the Ukraine," tragic drama). C. Norvid (1821—1883), painter and poet, standing aloof from any literary school, wrote his poems and dramas, which have a wealth of original thought and beauty, abroad ("Quidam," "Krakus," "Promethidion"). Mlle. J. Luszczewska ("Deotyma") (1834—1908), is distinguished by her epic imagination and the facility of her style.

We are compelled to pass over many minor poets whose merits entitle them to a place in this summary, and must confine ourselves to mentioning A. Gorecki (d. 1861), K. Gaszynski (d. 1866), Witwicki (d. 1847), Goslawski (d. 1834), E. Wasilewski (1814—1846), who has the art of putting popular themes in a beautiful setting; Bielowski (d. 1876), the poet of Red Russia; and finally the Polish orientalists—T. Olizarowski (d. 1879), author of some passionate and highly-coloured plays; G. Zienlinski (d. 1881), author of "Kirghiz."

Novelists. Prose keeps pace with poetry during the romantic period. The Polish novel was not long in freeing itself from tinsel sentiment and conventionality and in applying itself instead to the truthful description of social and individual life, to the study of the character and soul of its heroes. It boldly attacks national, political and philosophical problems, and can compare with the novel in any other country in quality and quantity.

H. Rzewuski (1791—1866) an admirer of the aristocratic Poland of the 18th century, he describes it with

undeniable ability. A political and philosophical reactionary, he occupies an isolated but eminent place in literature ("November"). I. Chodzko (1794—1861) devoted himself to portraying the old nobility of Lithuania, his native province. J. Kozeniowski (1797—1863) attacked class prejudice and supported liberal principles in his novels, which deal with the nobility of his time. (See **The Drama** for his plays.) M. Czajkowski (1808—1886), or "Sadyk Pacha," the famous adventurer, wrote some wild Cossack tales ("Wernyhora"). But the powerful personality of J. I. Kraszewski⁴ (1812—1887) occupies the most important place. His influence on Polish thought was altogether exceptional. Poet, historian, æstheticist, publicist and, above all, novelist, he lived in Poland and tried to fill the place of that generation of romanticists who after the emigration of 1831 were forced to publish their works almost exclusively abroad. In 1863 he emigrated in his turn and continued his work at Dresden. His innumerable works throw light on the national life in all its aspects—"The Wanderers," "Sphinx," "Mana," "An Old Legend," "Anaphielas" (in verse), "The Castellan's Honey" (drama). Many of his novels have been translated into nearly every European language, and have had their influence on the literature of other countries—notably on the Spanish novel.

The second generation of romanticists once more brings to the fore humanitarian and social tendencies. Z. Milkowski or T. Jez (1824—1915) is inspired by the democratic and patriotic spirit. His vivid and virile style attracts by its sincerity as well as by its grave energy. His novels about the Balkans are known in translations ("The Uskoks," "The Slav Duke"). Victims of circumstance, to whatever class they belong, have a noble champion in Pietkiewicz ("Plug," 1824—1903). J. Zacharyasiewicz (1825—1906) describes Galician customs, and warns us of the dangers of Germanisation in Poznań. Z. Kaczkowski

⁴ Kraszewski is probably the most prolific writer who ever existed. He wrote with his own hand and published 630 volumes, without counting a vast number of newspaper articles. His immense correspondence fills hundreds of volumes more. We know that Alexandre Dumas, with numerous collaborators, left about 300 volumes, Maurice Jokaj between 200 and 300, Voltaire 95, etc.

(1826—1896), author of some remarkable novels of modern life, such as "The Byronian," is best known by his remarkably authentic historical novels in which both the outer and inner life of an epoch are reflected with memorable fidelity ("The Knights of Olbracht").

The 18th century left us a wealth of memoirs, to which the 19th century has added. From the point of view of historical and literary value, the best of them are by J. Niemcewicz, Felinski, Kozmian, Sapieha, Zamoyski, Piotrowski, Kruszewski, Jezioranski, and many others.

Political troubles and the silence of the parliamentary tribune in Poland gave oratorical talent but little chance of revealing itself. On the other hand religious eloquence seemed to find a new source of vitality. In the middle of the 19th century the order of the Resurrectionists produced such great orators as the impassioned preacher H. Kajsiwicz and the religious writer Semenenko (1812—1873). Besides the Resurrectionists we ought to mention the poet—Archbishop J. Holowinski, K. Boloz, Antoniewicz, Golian and Prusinowski.

Criticism. With the advent of romanticism, criticism escaped from the narrow limits to which it had hitherto been confined; it ceased to rely on empty formulæ, and produced the first masterpieces of the kind in Poland. After the gifted theorist, M. Mochnacki (1803—1835) came M. Grabowski (1805—1863), a learned and profound critic. L. Sieminski (1809—1877), novelist, poet and publicist, successfully introduced the literary "essay." There must also be attributed to romanticism the early works of J. Klaczko, one of the most distinguished contributors to the review "Wiadomosci Polskie" (Polish News, Paris), a publication unrivalled for the artistic and critical merit of its articles.

The Drama. In the domain of the drama, Korzeniowski was the first to abandon the classical formula. His characters are drawn direct from life, and his plays still prove attractive ("The Mountaineers of the Carpathians," "The Girl Wife"). The greater number of authors of this period wrote for the stage, but two great personalities dominate the Polish theatre. J. Slowacki left several plays of talent ("Balladyna," "The Golden Crane," "Horsztyn-

ski," "Samuel Zborowski"). A. Fredro (1793—1876), poet and dramatist, through his characteristically natural wit, and his genius for comedy, created an immortal gallery of old-world types ("Vengeance," "Geldhab," "Maidens' Vows," "Pan Jowialski"). Finally W. Anczyc (1823—1883) brought on to the stage the manners and customs of the people, and his historical dramas soon gained a legitimate popularity which they have never lost ("Kosciusko at Raclawice").

POSITIVISM AND REALISM

The unsuccessful insurrection of 1863—64 brought about a noticeable reaction in Polish thought. Exhausted by bloodshed, the nation nevertheless preserved an ardent faith in its destiny, and as a step towards the realisation of its political aspirations it set itself perseveringly to the task of organisation. Progress, public education, the improvement of the social and economic condition of the masses, are the ideals of this period and of its literature.

Poets. A. Asnyk (1838—1897), poet and thinker, sought an antidote to the poison of doubt and discouragement in the philosophical contemplation of nature. A champion of progressive ideas, he exhorted the younger generation to have confidence in the vitality of the nation. The tragic problems of life, the indignation of all thoughtful people against social injustice, the increasing volume of the murmurs of the poor against their long oppression, found an eloquent interpreter in Mme. M. Konopnicka (1846—1910), who crowned her poetic work by the production of that fine popular epic, "Pan Balcer at Brazil." Among poets of a high literary culture and refinement are F. Falenski (1825—1910) whose writings are characterised by their polished style; V. Gomulicki (1851), who sang of the glories of ancient Warsaw, and C. Jankowski (Czeslaw). K. Glinski (1850) and A. Oppmann ("Or-ot") (1867), devoted their talents to ordinary folk, to middle-class life. Local traditions and popular legends found faithful interpreters. Mazovia produced K. Laskowski (1861—1912); Lithuania, Wierzbicki (1853—1909); White Ruthenia, Niesluchowski; the Ukraine, Wysocki (1862—1894); Silesia, Bouczek.

Novelists. But the novel occupies the first place in the literary productions of this period. While nearly all the novelists of the preceding generation were still in the prime of their talent and activity, new writers were beginning to make a name.

J. Maciejowski ("Sewer") (1839—1901) presents in his lively stories a picture of the people in the neighbourhood of Cracow and of artistic Bohemia. M. Balucki (1837—1901) portrays the middle class vividly. The sketches and satirical novels of Lam (1838—1886), of Wieniawski (Jordan) are rich in social ideas. K. Szaniawski (Junosza, 1849—1898) describes wittily, but not without bitterness, village life and the ravages of Jewish usury. A. Dygasinski (1839—1902) as regards his amazing comprehension of nature and of animal life has few equals in European literature ("The Feast of Life"). The life of the destitute, the feminist movement, the efforts of enlightened Jews to emancipate themselves from fanatical and retrogressive Talmudists, found a warm and devoted champion in Mme. E. Orzeszko. In her novels the whole life of the Polish community in Lithuania, with its sturdy patriotism and tenacious love of the soil, moves before one's eyes ("On the Niemen," "The Boor," "Meir Ezofowicz," "Sparks"). Alexander Glowacki (B. Prus., 1847—1912) reminds us of Dickens by reason of his serenity, humour, and sincere love of humanity. His work had an enormous influence on his contemporaries and has been one of the greatest social educators of the nation ("The Outpost," "The Doll," "Pharaoh"). Leader of the progressive movement, and a brilliant writer, A. Swientochowski (1849) deals in a poetic manner with grave problems in sociology ("The Thinkers"). The historical novels of Krechowicki, of W. Lozinski and those of middle class life by A. Gruszecki, Konar and W. Kosiakiewicz show remarkable talent. There should also be mentioned among these historical novelists Wenceslas Gonsiorowski, the distinguished editor of the Paris review "Polonia," who is the author of many historical novels which are widely read in Poland and have been translated into several languages ("Madame Walewska," "The Hurricane," "1809," etc.). Szymanski (1852—1916) describes the life and sufferings of the Siberian exiles and the

subconscious but powerful forces of the peasant mind ("Sketches," "Aksinja"). But it is H. Sienkiewicz (1846), winner of the Nobel Prize, who has brought the glory of the Polish novel to its height. He has inspired and stimulated thought as much by his social studies ("Rough Sketches") as by his profound psychological analysis ("Without Dogma"). He has kindled patriotic enthusiasm in the oppressed, and elevated every mind by his epic pictures of the nation's past ("A Trilogy," "The Teutons"). He has dazzled the entire world by his marvellous presentation of ancient times ("Quo Vadis").⁵

Among women novelists we will mention W. Marrené-Moszkowska (1857—1903), M. Rodziewicz (1858), J. Sawicka (Ostoja) (1859), Jelenska, Urbanowska.

Art Critics. In art criticism there should be mentioned J. Klaczko (1827—1906), contributor to the "Revue des Deux-Mondes," the author of "Florentine Talks," "Julius II.," and many political writings (in French, German and Polish) which have nearly all had a great vogue ("The Preliminaries of Sadowa," "The Two Chancellors"). Also W. Gostomski (1854—1914), J. Kotarbinski (1849), Z. Wasilewski (1865), and H. Galle. K. M. Gorski (1862—1909) was not only a critic of sound and refined taste but also a poet and the author of some charming short stories ("Verses," "The Bibliomaniac.")

Translators. The Poles have always endeavoured to bring the best work in foreign literature to the knowledge of their own country. From the 16th century onwards numerous Polish translations in prose and verse of Greek, Latin, Italian, French and German authors appeared. This movement went through many different phases, but it was never interrupted, and it assumed remarkable proportions in the 19th century, when the best writers often devoted their great ability to excellent translations. It will be enough to quote those of Mickiewicz, Slowacki, Odyniec, Madame Konopnicka, Przesmycki, Lange, Kasprowicz, Porembowicz, etc. There are very few masterpieces in the world's literature which have not been made accessible to the Polish public, not excepting even those of Oriental literature, Indian, Persian, Chinese, etc.

⁵ Sienkiewicz died at Lausanne in 1917.

Among the periodicals which have played an important part in the literature of this period there should be mentioned "The Warsaw Library," the "Niwa," the "Athenæum," the "Review of Poland" (at Cracow), the "Illustrated Weekly" (at Warsaw).

The Drama at this period was going through a crisis. It produced chiefly comedies of manners, and mediocre adaptations. Nevertheless several characters not lacking in depth are to be found in the works of J. Blizinski (1827—1893) ("Damasus"), J. Szujski, and A. Belcikowski (1839—1909) who wrote historical dramas which enjoyed great success. We must also mention Balucki, Narzymiski, Zalewski, Lubowski, Kozlowski.

YOUNG POLAND AND THE NEW MOVEMENT

Motives of prudence and social utilitarianism hindered the free development of individualism and chafed the fiery spirit of the young Poles. They raised the standard of revolt against "the prose of middle-class life," returned to the great traditions of romanticism, to dreams of the emancipation of nations and of oppressed humanity. They broke the bonds of all artistic and social conventions in the name of the liberty of poetry, the liberty of the individual, and the liberty of love (the last too often degenerated into sensuality). Hence the most contradictory tendencies are to be found in the work of young Poland.

Influence of Art Criticism. Art criticism, inspired by Western influences, did much to encourage the school of young rebels. S. Witkiewicz (1851—1915), a painter and a critical reformer of robust originality; Z. Przesmycki ("Miriam," 1861), a subtle and finished poet, editor of that fascinating review "Chimera"; and J. Matuszewski (1858), were the most active in propagating new artistic canons and new philosophical ideas. S. Przybyszewski, A. Gorski and A. Potocki supported them with energy and ability in the reviews "Life," "The World," etc. The editors of "Criticism" (W. Feldman) and of "The Sphinx" (the poet W. Bukowski) (1871) took up a more moderate attitude, and gave more space to social questions.

Lyric Poets. Positivism, however, had not dried up the

springs of fancy. A new stream of strong and youthful lyricism flowed forth. Two great poets determined the tone of this lyrical outburst. Jan Kasprówicz (1860) devotes his poems to the tragic struggle of a profoundly religious soul rebelling against the riddle of existence ("On the Hill of Death," "My Evening Song"). K. Tetmajer (1865) combines a sensual and melancholy lyricism with a rare epic talent, a talent which he shows in his admirable stories of the life of the Tatra mountaineers ("Poems," "In the Rocky Podhale"). Close on their footsteps come a whole crowd of gifted poets. A. Lange (1863) and A. M-ski (1861—1911), poet and translator, introduce their readers to the most curious specimens of artistic production of any century or any nation. A. Niemojewski (1864) is a poet of advanced socialistic and anti-clerical ideas. F. Nowicki (1864) sings of the grandiose beauty of the Polish mountains. In W. Wolski (1866) and B. Adamowicz (1871) are united original individualism and patriotic inspiration. The versatile and sensitive talent of L. Szczepanski (1872) has, thanks to his organ "Zycie" ("Life"), played an important part in organising the propagation of the new æsthetic ideas. L. Staff (1878) moves us by the illuminating quality of his thought and the purity of his faultless verse.

The dreamy and tender character of the poetry of S. Brzozowski (1875—1902) is in striking contrast to that of his brother Wincenty (1878) which is ablaze with noble passion. Ruffer (1878) impresses us by the strength of his creative ability and his sincere love of the beautiful. In this constellation of lyric poets we must also mention: L. Rydel, Z. Dembicki, Eminowicz, Lesmian, Slonski, Milaszewski, Rozycki, Pietrzycki.

Women poets have taken a very active part in the new literary movement. Madame Zawistowska (1870) touches and charms us by an ardent yet chaste expression of emotion and by an exquisitely feminine refinement. Madame Ostrowska, in her poems, offers dreams as a refuge from the harshness of life. Wolska, Marcinowska, Savitri, give expression to noble aspirations, tinged sometimes with epic or socialistic colour.

The Drama. In the history of the national theatre

young Poland has certainly earned an honourable place. The Drama during the Positivist period was sunk in apathy. The new generation, returning to the magnificent and often ill-comprehended romantic drama of Slowacki, discovered Norwid. Slowacki was enthusiastically acclaimed as the guide and spiritual father of the new school. At the same time the most remarkable dramatic manifestations of the West have been eagerly absorbed. The symbolism of Maeterlinck, the generous individualism of Ibsen, as well as the theatrical skill and resource of the French school have found partisans and rivals in Poland. S. Przbyszewski (1868) was the first to adopt the new theories in his psychological dramas, which are well constructed and have the sense of the theatre ("The Golden Fleece," "The Mother"). In other works of rich imagination, he makes the sex question the pivot of his cosmological theories. But it is S. Wyspianski, painter and poet (1869—1907), the foremost figure of young Poland, who is head and shoulders above his contemporaries in the theatre. In his powerful works which have an indescribable charm we find united to great classical culture a keen insight into the life of his own time and into that of preceding generations. He has dealt with the stage problems arising from his conceptions with an impetuous boldness and originality which have provoked admiration from Gordon Craig and other experts in the modern theatre ("The Wedding," "Boleslas the Bold," "Anathema," "A November Night." Poems, "Casimir the Great," etc.).

The regeneration of the drama has been manifested in innumerable fine productions of various types. Lyrical and symbolical dramas keep company with psychological and realistic plays; ingenuous idylls with biting satires. J. A. Kisielewski (1876—1915) made a brilliant but fugitive appearance in the dramatic world. His works still astonish us by their exuberance and audacity and by the vigour and eloquence with which he presents life as it really is. S. Krzywoszewski (1866) criticises contemporary manners in skilfully constructed comedies of intrigue ("The Education of Bronka"). L. Rydel (1870) possesses the secret of transfixing historical pictures and impressions of village life in dramas of sentiment ("The Enchanted Circle,"

"Sigismund-Augustus"). He has also published some translations of Homer. Nor must we pass over the dramatic poems of J. Zulawski (1874—1915) ("Eros and Psyche"), also the author of some fantastic stories ("On the Silver Globe," etc.), or the historical plays of I. Grabowski. Nowaczynski (1876) has written some interesting historical and dramatic pamphlets ("Frederick the Great," etc.). T. Rittner (1873) shows great originality in his observant and brilliantly-written comedies ("Kuba the Blockhead"). Madame Zapolska skilfully satirises the hypocrisy of small middle-class coteries ("The Morality of Madame Dulska," "Skiz," etc.), as do Gorczynski ("The Little Market Garden"), and Perzynski ("The Prodigal Sister").

The Novel, breaking down the old classical limits, achieves lyricism and philosophy, although its vague and undisciplined form is not beyond criticism. Like the drama, it reflects and represents with a wealth of independent and advanced talent every sort of tendency. S. Zeromski (1864) has exercised the strongest influence on the Polish public of our own time. The aspirations and sufferings of the Polish soul are described in his powerful though unequal works: "The Homeless," "Ashes," "Walgierz Wdaly," "The Faithful River," etc.

Among other eminent novelists, J. Dombrowski (1869) is distinguished by the clearness and simplicity with which he makes his characters live ("Death," etc.). Besides S. Przybyszewski, Tetmajer, etc., there is W. Berent (1873), an accomplished artist, who analyses with startling penetration the psychological tendencies of modern life ("The Dead Wood"). G. Danilowski (1871), gives a pure lyrical accent to the exaltation of the senses in his novels, which also bear marks of patriotic and socialistic sympathies. ("The Burden of the Past," "The Swallow").

The chaotic philosophy of the novels of T. Micinski (1873) is illumined by passages of true poetry. The life of man at war with the elementary forces of nature has found an inspired interpreter in Orkan ("The Famine," "In Other Days"). A. Strug describes revolutionary struggles admirably ("Hard Service," "The Portrait"). Madame Rygier-Nalkowska depicts a feminine world, the refined and fascinating psychology of which is not without perversity

("Women," "Narcissus"). Irzkowski has left some essays in artistic self-analysis. The novel idea of building individual life on the foundation of the social instinct inspired the works of Korczak ("A Child of the Great World"), and those of Licinski ("Memoirs of a Vagabond"). S. Mueller in "Henryk Flis" has depicted in a sober style a curious type of the modern mind. Madame Komornicka (1876—1908) and Mlle. Luskinia are attractive writers with a charm of their own. Among other novelists of the day are: T. Jaroszynski, Grubinski, M. Srokowski, Konczynski, E. Paszkowski, etc. Some of these have also written for the stage.

In this rapid survey we ought to keep apart those well-known novelists whose work retains the old traditions of clarity and realism. Sieroszewski (Sirko) (1858) shows in his writings, which are sometimes of a rather exotic character, the enthusiasm of a reformer who thinks the world will be set right after a struggle in which love will triumph ("The Yellow Devil," "Lowlands"). In J. Weyssenhof (1860) keen and accurate observation is mingled with epic grandeur, and sobriety and elegance of form ("The Life and Adventures of M. Podfilipski," "The Sable and the Girl," etc.). Madame Zapolska (1860), a novelist of strong and generous emotions, uses artistic gifts of the first order to protest against the false morality and subjection imposed on women ("At the Gate of Hell," "Love in Season"). W. Reymont (1868) excites admiration by the truth of his characters, by the vigour of his splendid peasants. In the opinion of M. Muret, he of all 19th century writers, has probed most deeply into the peasant soul, and this opinion is shared by the best German critics.⁶

Among humourists there should be mentioned Nowaczynski, Perzynski, Makuszynski, Glass and Hertz. In J. Lemanski (1865) a gift for energetic and biting satire is allied to an exquisite fancy ("The Novena," "Fables"). Zelenski (Boy) depicts an intellectual and artistic coterie in his Rabelaisian silhouettes ("Songs of the Green Balloon").

The Literary Reaction. The economic and social pro-

⁶ Willamowitz-Moellendorf, etc.

gress made by the Polish nation during the last fifty years, the awakening of national consciousness in the agricultural and industrial classes, have had their influence in bringing about a literary reaction. The impetuous tide of national energy is combating anarchy and individualism in life and in art alike. To act, to fight for indisputable rights, and for the attainment of conditions favourable to the literature of the country, these have become the watchwords of Polish writers. In our own day the leading representatives of Young Poland have joined this movement. The poet and philosopher S. Brzozowski (1875—1912) and A. Grzymala-Siedlecki have placed themselves at the head of this reaction against the exaggeratedly individualistic spirit of the Young Poland of yesterday. On the other hand, J. Lorentowicz has remained its devoted champion.

Among younger writers who show great promise are the poets and playwrights—T. Szymborski, Jedlicz, Nalepinski, Rostworowski, Morstyn, editor of “The Muses,” a journal advocating a return to classicism; E. Leszczynski, Kreczmar, Waskowski, Mlle. Illakowicz; the novelists P. Choynowski, J. Raden, Countess Walewska Wielopolska, Bartkiewicz, Choromanski, A. Jaworski, Mmes. Wojcicka-Chylewska, Z. Bassak, Rabska, Z. Rogosz, H. Romer; the critics Lack (d. 1909), O. Ortwin, Z. L. Zaleski, etc.

CONCLUSION

Polish literature, taken all round, is the richest of all Slav literatures.⁷ It was in a flourishing stage of development when the other peoples of this race had hardly begun their literary activity, and it has never ceased to compete with the most civilised nations either in the quantity or quality of its output. And since for centuries it has been in touch with the evolution of European thought, it has always been preoccupied with the same problems and has participated in the same progress.

⁷ According to K. Estreicher (Polish Bibliography) the number of works published in Poland between 1474 and 1870 is three times as great as that of all the publications which appeared during the same period in all the other Slav countries put together.

Its share in the common work has not been limited to a humble collaboration. From the Middle Ages its poems, its historical and theological treatises, its political writings have been admired and often imitated in the West. From the 16th century onwards its influence on Russian, Czech, Serbian and Ruthenian literature has become more and more important. In the 19th century, thanks to its great romantic poets and its philosophers, the field of action for Polish genius was enlarged, and to it must be attributed certain important phases of European idealism. It was Poland which helped to inspire Lamennais, Quinet and Michelet himself, and gave an impetus to that great humanitarian and religious movement the memory of which is the glory of the France of that time.⁸ Later the writings of Kraszewski and of Mme. Orzesko, of Prus (Glowacki), of Reymont and Weyssenhof, full as they were of moving and profound realism, found thousands of readers in countries widely differing from one another. Sienkiewicz's works are known all over the world. In recent years the thought of "Young Poland" has played its part in the mental evolution of several races, German, Russian, and Scandinavian. Still this is but feeble testimony to the wealth of a literature the influence of which will increase as its works become better known.

That time cannot be long in coming. Polish literature contains treasures which without it would have been lost to the world. The special fascination of its poetry has never been denied. And there is only Chopin's music to give an idea of it to people ignorant of the language of Mickiewicz and Slowacki! But what characterises this literature above everything else is the nobility of its aspirations, its high moral ideals, its sublime patriotism in which love of country is joined to an even greater love, the love of the whole human race.

From the end of the 16th century the greatest minds in Poland have always been alive to the dangers threatening their country. There has been no respite from this anxiety; it has obsessed every generation. At the time of the

⁸ M. J. Strowski, Professor at the Sorbonne, in the Preface to the Polish edition of his remarkable "Impressions of French Literature."

nation's greatest calamities, Polish thought, stirred by an overwhelming tale of crime and iniquity, soared to great heights, where raised above hatred and vengeance it engaged itself in the defence not only of one oppressed country but of the eternal and sacred rights common to all nations who will one day be called upon to unite in fraternal harmony. No other nation has been able to imbue its patriotism with this wide and profound significance. No other nation has been able to inspire with it to the same extent, its novelists, historians and philosophers. It is also thanks to it that Polish poets and philosophers are the interpreters of the aspirations and struggles of all nations. The most despoiled among countries is able to speak in the name of all who suffer. The Polish ideal, an understanding between nations, who will be faithful to their national traditions yet united by the sense of an universal justice, has a world-wide significance. This is the goal which the humanity of the future, rebelling alike against brutal nationalism and vague cosmopolitanism, may achieve.

CHAPTER V

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

MUSIC

THE most ancient Polish manuscripts of religious music date from the 11th century. In the succeeding centuries, under the influence of the Netherlands and Italy, Poland became more and more interested in music, and it was studied with enthusiasm. By the 15th century Cracow had become an important centre of musical art (Nicolas of Radom, *circa* 1429; Nicolas of Cracow, end of the 15th century), and continued to be so during the 16th and 17th centuries. It was in the 16th century especially that music flourished; at that period Poland had every right to a foremost place in Europe on account both of the quantity and quality of her musical compositions, which are unfortunately hardly known abroad. It was then that there appeared composers of talent like Sebastian of Felsztyn (first half of the 16th century), Wacław of Szamotuly (d. 1572), Martinus Leopolita (1540—1589), M. Gomolka (d. 1609, 150 psalms). In the 17th century, far from declining, music continued to flourish. It is enough to quote the names of such composers as M. Zieliński (c. 1611), B. Penkiel (first half of the 17th century), Gorczycki (d. 1734). Polish dances became popular throughout Europe. Ladislas III maintained an Italian opera company and orchestra at his court which were the best that the time could produce.

There was a certain slackening in artistic production at the beginning of the 18th century owing to the critical situation of the country. But during the reign of Stanislas-Augustus, national art revived and assumed a new vigour. Composers of merit like Kamiński (1734—1821), Stefani (1746—1829), Elsner (1769—1852), Kurpiński (1785—1857), wrote operas, a form which had been neglected

since Elert (composer of the first Polish opera in the 17th century). The famous polonaises of Oginski became known all over Europe.

Chopin. It was at the Warsaw Conservatoire, at that time under the direction of the composer Elsner, that Frédéric Chopin (1810—1849) studied. His essentially Polish genius is on a level with that of the greatest masters of the world. He created new harmonic effects and enriched pianoforte colour in a way hitherto undreamed of. Moreover, he made incarnate in his works the soul of Polish folk-music and was the forerunner and model of most of the modern national schools, notably those of Russia, Bohemia, and Scandinavia.

Moniuszko (1819—1872), the author of the opera "Halka," was the most remarkable composer of the following period. In his operas and songs we find rhythmic and melodic characteristics, which are typically Polish, although they show certain traces of Italian and French influences. Moniuszko was Professor of Composition at the Musical Institute founded at Warsaw in 1850 by A. Kortschi to take the place of the Conservatoire which had been closed by the Russian Government in 1831.

Modern Composers. There have succeeded to these valued composers of another day, H. Wieniawski (1855—1880), A. Żarzycki (1831—1895), W. Zelenski (1837), Z. Noskowski (1848—1911), and Statkowski (1850), composers of operas, sonatas, and various other works. J. I. Paderewski (1869) is known everywhere as an incomparable virtuoso and the inspired composer of the opera "Manru," the Symphony in G minor, etc. Gall (1856—1915), Niewiadomski (1859), Szopski (1867), Stojowski (1860) (symphonies and sonatas), have acquired a well-deserved reputation; as have Melcer (pianoforte works), Opienski (1870), (symphonic poems, operas), Guzewski (symphonies, operas), Nowowiejski (1877, Oratorio "Quo Vadis"), Młynarski (1869, Polish Symphony), Brzeziński (pianoforte compositions). All these composers have produced fine work, the inspiration of which is drawn from their native soil.

Under the influence of Wagner, Tschaiowsky and Strauss there has risen up in recent times a school of talented young composers who encourage us to prophesy a

great future for young Poland in music. We will mention here M. Karłowicz (1876—1909), Szymanowski (born 1883), Rozycki (born 1883), Fitelberg (born 1879), Morawski, Rytel, Rogowski, Wertheim. Their works—operas, sonatas and symphonies—have been produced at Munich, Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Petrograd.

Patriotic Songs. Allusion must also be made to the important part which patriotic songs have played in the history of Poland. After the archaic and grandiose "Bogorodzica," the national war song from the 14th to the 18th century, the fall of the Republic inspired the heart of a nation fighting to regain its freedom to pour forth the heroic strains of "Jeszcze Polska nie zginela" (Poland is not yet dead), the words by G. J. Wybicki, the music by K. Oginski (composed in 1797). Each separate insurrection has inspired new songs, which have been carefully collected and preserved by the next generation. In 1831 there appeared "The Raid of Warsaw" (words by C. Delavigne, music by Kurpinski); in 1846 and 1863 "Z dymen pozarow" (The Smoke from the Fires) and "Boze cos Polske" (God Who has guided Poland). All these patriotic songs have roused the noblest emotions of the national spirit, and have greatly influenced the works of Polish composers.

Contemporary Polish virtuosi enjoy world-wide fame. Besides Paderewski, whom we have already mentioned, European and American reputations have been made by Lipinski, the two Kontskis, Wieniawski, the Adamowskis, Barcewicz, Michalowski, Hoffman, Sliwinski, A. Radwan, Madame Landowska, Arthur Rubinstein, Turczynski, etc.

As regards orchestral conductors, Poland can boast of M. Moszkowski, for twelve years director of the Symphony Concerts at Breslau; E. Mlynarski, director of the Symphony Concerts at Glasgow; Fitelberg, conductor at the Imperial Opera House, Vienna; A. Dolzycki, conductor of the Opera at Warsaw.

Mention must also be made of the musical societies which at Warsaw (1842), Lwów and Cracow have largely helped to develop in the country a taste for great classical music; and the Choral Societies established throughout Poland on the model of the Lutnia (The Lute) at Warsaw, founded by

the song composer Maszynski, and directed by him for over thirty years.

THE DRAMA

The modern drama in Poland, as in every European country, originated in Mystery Plays, of which representations in Cracow Cathedral in the 11th century are chronicled.¹ In the 16th century there were some experiments in the representation of classical comedies, and some attempts at original pieces, either at Cracow or in the houses of great art patrons among the magnates, but on the whole religious drama reigned supreme. The only difference was that the performances were no longer given in the sanctuary, but in the cathedral square and other public places. In the Jesuit colleges Moralities, lightened by the introduction of comic interludes, were acted, and other edifying plays.

Italian opera, introduced into Poland by Sigismund III and supported by his son Ladislas IV (towards the middle of the 17th century), led to the foundation of a permanent Theatre Royal, where Italian, German and French companies appeared. These performances, given in a foreign tongue and before privileged audiences consisting chiefly of courtiers, exercised only an insignificant influence on national art.

Towards the middle of the 18th century Polish companies began to give private performances in the houses of the nobility, and it was at Nieswiez, Prince Radziwill's seat, that Beaumarchais's "Marriage of Figaro" was played in a translation even before it had been performed in Paris in the original. At Warsaw the Prince of Nassau founded a theatre which quickly became popular under the name of "Dynasy." But it is to King Stanislas-Augustus, a great admirer of Shakespeare, that Poland owes her first public theatre. It was opened in 1765, and was the theatre where Boguslawski, called with justice the "Father of the Polish

¹ These Mystery Plays survive in the form of the "Cribs" of modern times. These miniature travelling shows go from house to house at Christmas time, and mummers, with the help of marionettes, give representations of the Nativity. This popular custom is kept up in Galicia more than anywhere else.

Theatre," won his fame. Author and actor, he brought together an excellent company, and made numerous tours all over Poland even after the fall of the Republic. By the end of the 18th century Cracow, Warsaw, Lwów, Minsk and Wilno all had their own companies of players.

In the 19th century, particularly in the second half, the drama had to contend with every sort of obstacle. In the Kingdom of Poland it was subjected to a very strict censorship, while in Lithuania and Ruthenia (up to 1906) all performances in the Polish language were prohibited. In the provinces annexed by Prussia, the censorship and police restrictions hampered Polish performances to such an extent that it became impossible to give any except in Poznan and then only for six months, and none at all in the provinces, where they were entirely forbidden. Since 1906 the Polish theatre in Poznan, Lithuania and Ruthenia, supported entirely by voluntary contributions, has in addition to its artistic functions fulfilled a civilizing and national mission. It is only in Austrian Poland that the situation of the theatre is normal: it is subventioned by the Galician Diet.

In spite of all these obstacles, in spite of unfavourable conditions both moral and financial, the vigorous development of the Polish theatre has never been arrested. It has produced a great number of remarkable artists: it has its own repertory, and keeps abreast of the theatre in countries which are much more favoured as regards the protection of public entertainments.

THEATRES AND ARTISTS

The most important theatres are those at Warsaw, Cracow and Lwów. Those at Poznan, Wilno, Lublin and Lodz, besides many provincial companies, also display great activity. The theatre at Cracow has formed a regular school, thanks to the realistic skill of its actors and to such clever stage-directors as S. Kozmian, Pawlikowski, Kotarbinski and Solski; during the last forty years it has accomplished work which forms one of the most creditable pages in the history of the Polish stage. Pawlikowski and Heller have given fine productions at Lwów, and Zelwerowicz at Lodz. Warsaw at present faithfully upholds the

traditions of classical acting. It does not include new modern plays in its repertory, and pays great attention to the *mise-en-scène*. In this connection the Grand Theatre has shown itself most obstinately attached to the old traditions. At the "Varieties" comedy is well interpreted, as are vaudeville and farce at the Summer Theatre.

In recent times Warsaw has been the scene of some interesting experiments. The Polish Theatre (director, Szyfman) has succeeded in accomplishing a harmonious union of well thought-out and artistic scenery with some very remarkable acting.

Polish companies have achieved success in Paris, Vienna and Petrograd, as well as in Bohemia and Croatia. Among contemporary Polish artists who have appeared with success in leading European theatres are:—*Actresses*: Lüde, the Trapszos, Siemaszko, Solska, Wysocka, Przybylko-Potocka, Mrozowska, Lubicz-Sarnowska, Szylling. *Actors*: Rapacki, B. Leszczynski, Kaminski, Frenkiel, Solski, J. Knake-Zawadzki, Wojdalowicz, Zelazowski, Sliwicki, Osterwa, Mielewski, Fertner, Zelwerowicz, Adwentowicz, Tarasiewicz. Among the artists of an earlier period mention ought to be made of H. Modrzejewska, a star of the Polish stage who died recently and was for many years admired both in England and America, and of her rival, Madame Hoffmann; also of Krolikowski, and of Zolkowski, whom the elder Coquelin considered the first actor of his time.

REPERTORY

After a series of French and Italian adaptations, a purely Polish repertory consisting of classical plays, and plays by modern authors, was formed in the course of the 19th century. Three great names dominate this period: Fredro, Slowacki and Wyspianski.

Far from confining itself to the narrow limits of a local repertory, the Polish theatre has kept in touch with all the manifestations of dramatic art in Europe. French authors, particularly contemporary ones, have been drawn on most freely, then the English drama, and above all Shakespeare, the object of a constant cult. Few companies, if we except the very best that Germany can produce, have interpreted

Ibsen and Strindberg better than the Poles. Then come German, Italian, Russian, Czech and Croatian pieces. The ancient Greek drama has been brought on to the stage at Cracow. Some of these classical performances, due to the enterprise of the "Society of Friends of the Classical Drama," anticipated the experiments of Reinhardt, and those which have been made in London. So it has come about that several of the masterpieces of Aristophanes, Sophocles and Euripides have been performed in their entirety at Cracow for the first time since the days of ancient Greece.

The works of Slowacki, Korzeniowski, Balucki, Zulawski, J. Rittner and Mme. Zapolska, have been acted in Russia and in other Slav countries; and some of them in Germany. The same applies to Przybyszewski, who in addition is known in Scandinavia. Some of Wyspianski's plays have been produced in Germany and Russia.²

OPERA

This form of artistic enterprise, being subsidised almost exclusively by private generosity, has naturally been unable to flourish outside Warsaw, Lwów, and Poznan, if we except performances by provincial touring companies. Opera at Warsaw has since 1798 been distinctively Polish, and in spite of unpropitious political circumstances which have constantly threatened its development and even its very existence, has been in the front rank of European opera as regards *mise-en-scène*, chorus, orchestra and the soloists who have undertaken the leading rôles. It has gloriously fulfilled the mission assigned to it of supporting and making known the masterpieces of the Polish repertory. Among them ought to be mentioned (leaving on one side the works of Moniuszko, whose "Halka" has recently been performed for the 800th time) such operas as "Goplana," "Janek," "Stara Basn" (Old Legend), by Zelenski; "Manru," by Paderewski; "Filenis" and "Marie," by Statkowski; "Dziewica lodowcow" (The Virgin of the Rocks), by

² Wyspianski's "Judges" was to have been produced at the "Theatre du Vieux-Colombier" in Paris when the war broke out in 1914.

Gruzewski; "Medusa," by Rozycki; "Megae," by Wieniawski.

Among operatic artists who have won a great reputation abroad are Mmes. Sembrich-Kochanska, Arkel, Bogucka, Bolska, M. Freund, Korolewicz, Wayda, Lachowska, Zboinska-Ruszkowska, Korwin-Szymanowska, Messrs. Jean and Edouard Reszke, Bandrowski, Didur, Dygas, Leliwa.

The Warsaw Operetta Company is indisputably one of the best in Europe as regards life and spirit and ensemble (Mlles. Kawecka and Messal; MM. Morozowicz, Redo, etc.).

Dramatic criticism is in the hands of such accomplished writers as Lorentowicz, Rabski, Jankowski, A. Siedlecki, Ehrenberg; musical criticism is represented by Polinski, Sygietyński, Opiński, Noskowski, Chybiński, Jachimecki, Szopski, Reiss.

CHAPTER VI

THE FINE ARTS

BOUND by a thousand links to western civilisation, Poland from the earliest times has been a fertile field for the development of the arts, which she has learned to make her own by bringing the influence of her national character to bear on them. In pagan times art was manifested chiefly in works in stone, bronze and clay (examples of which may still be seen in museums in Poland and in Berlin), and above all in architecture in wood (see below). The later Romanesque period, and the whole of the Gothic period, left Poland a rich inheritance of admirable works. However, the Renaissance in the 18th century was the culminating point of this æsthetic evolution. Architectural productions in Poland at this period surpass in beauty similar creations in Central and Northern Europe. Later came the period of baroque and rococo (Louis XV) and a temporary decadence brought about by prolonged wars. Painting and sculpture alike suffered, and architecture alone continued to produce remarkable work. The end of the 18th century, which witnessed a general movement towards the resurrection of the country, was also a flourishing period in art. Since then Poland has never ceased to make progress in this domain, and the profoundly national character of her achievements has confirmed her individuality among the great nations of Europe.

ARCHITECTURE

There still exist in Poland about thirty examples of Romanesque architecture dating from the 11th century and onwards, but partially restored, which show the same characteristics as similar architecture in France and Germany. They owe their existence to the religious zeal of the Benedictines and the Cistercians. Among the most

interesting monasteries and churches of this period are :— In the Kingdom of Poland : Czerwinsk, Saint James's at Sandomir, Koprzywnica, Wonchock, Lenczyca; in Galicia and Silesia : Mogila, Dziekanowice, Staniontki; the churches of St. Andrew, St. John, and the crypt of St. Leonard in the Wawel¹ at Cracow; the chapel of the Palace at Cieszyn (Teschen); the ruins of the mediæval town of Rytró (12th century); in Prussian Poland : part of Gniezno Cathedral, the Church of Our Lady at Inowracław (Hohensalza), the churches of Kruszwica, Trzemeszno, Mogilno, Kcynia, Przement, Paradyz, Sroda, Saint Elizabeth, and Saint Vincent at Wrocław (Breslau), etc.

Curious evidence of the contact of Latin civilisation with the East is found in some Polish churches where the central plan of the Byzantine basilica is preserved with all the characteristic details of the Romanesque style (St. Procopius at Strzelno, Saint Pantalemon near Halicz).

Vistula Gothic. The pointed arch first appeared in Poland in 1232 at the Abbey of Sulejów. The beautiful Gothic Church of the Poor Clares at Zawichosc dates from 1259. The Premonstratensians, and above all the Franciscans, were the zealous propagators of Gothic architecture, which from the 13th to the 15th century reigned supreme in the country, but always in the special form known as "Vistula Gothic." A peculiar combination of brick and freestone, the simplicity and slenderness of the general plan, the accentuated length of the choir, the strictly canonical execution of the rood screen, and other architectural details are the distinguishing features of this noble style. Its individuality is emphasised by local themes in sculptural decoration, by the wealth of clerestories, and by a whole series of details surviving from the period of building in wood, which all contribute to produce an effect most attractive in its sober elegance. Among the hundreds of civic and religious buildings of this period the following churches may be mentioned: Church of Our Lady, the Cathedral, Saint Cross, Church of the Blessed Sacrament, the Dominican and Franciscan Churches at Cracow; the

¹ The "Wawel" is the Acropolis of Cracow. It comprises the Cathedral and the Royal Castle.

Church at Oswiecim; Saint Anne and the Parish Church at Nowy-Targ, Church of the Poor Clares at Stary-Soncz, Churches at Tarnow, Bochnia, Przeworsk, Biecz, Krosno, Przemyśl, Niepolomice, and Orlowa; the Cathedral at Lwów, the synagogues at Cracow and Tarnopol,² etc., all in Austrian Poland; the Cathedral, the Church of Our Lady and the Church of the Blessed Sacrament at Poznan; St. George at Gniezno (Gnesen), churches at Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), Szamotuly, Gostyn, Srem, Obra; St. John's at Wroclaw, Lignica, Grudziondz (Graudenz), Kwidzyn (Marienwerder), Church of Our Lady and St. John at Torun (Thorn); Chelmno (Culm); Church of Our Lady at Gdansk (Dantzic), Kartuzy—all in Prussian Poland; the Cathedral and Church of Our Lady at Warsaw; the Cathedrals of Sandomir, Plock, Wloclawek, Lublin, Piotrkow, Kalisz; St. Anne's³ and the Bernardine Church at Wilno; Churches at Czersk, Wislica, and Chelm, all in Russian Poland. Turning to civic buildings there are:—The Cloth-worker's Hall (the Sukiennice), the old University (now the library), the tower of the Town Hall, the Gray House and other buildings at Cracow; the Cathedral School at Przemyśl, the Town Hall at Wroclaw; several fine houses at Sandomir and Chelmno; whole quarters like those at Sulejow and Kazimierz; castles such as that at Odrzkon, Melsztyn, Tenczyn, Lipowiec, Felsztyn, Rakowiec, Olesko, Rzeszow, Wisnicz (Austrian Poland); the castles built by the Piasts at Poznan, Kladzko (Glatz), Olesnica (Oels), Brzeg (Brieg); by the Teutonic Knights at Torun, Malborg (Marienburg), Lyck (Elk), Kwidzyn (Prussian Poland), Czersk, Olkusz, Pieskowa Skala (in the Kingdom of Poland), Troki, near Wilno, Luck in Wolhynia, the remains of the Gothic fortifications at Cieszyn and Cracow with Saint Florian's gate and the 15th century barbican, a type of building rarely found in such a perfect state of preservation.

Renaissance Style. If the name of Casimir the Great

² Built, like many other synagogues in Poland, by King Casimir the Great.

³ In 1812. Napoleon, struck by the beauty of this church, which marks the furthest boundary reached by Gothic art in the East, expressed his regret that he could not transport it to France.

is associated with the glories of Vistula Gothic, it is to the Jagiello dynasty, Zygmunt I and Zygmunt II, that the Renaissance owes its most brilliant achievements in Poland. Under these sovereigns the clash of opposing tendencies ended in the triumph of the Italian influence. Two buildings are typical of the architecture of this period: the royal residence of the Wawel at Cracow with its magnificent courtyard rebuilt after designs by Della Lore and Castiglione, and the Chapel of the Zygmunts in the Cathedral of the Wawel, built under the direction of Beręcci. These two buildings rank among the finest specimens of Renaissance architecture in Europe,⁴ and there are many buildings modelled on them throughout Poland. The Zygmunt Chapel was followed by the Myszkowski Chapel in the Dominican Church at Cracow; the Firlej Chapel at Bejsc, the Boim Chapel of Paolo Romano, and the Chapel known as the "Kampianowska" in Lwów Cathedral; the Oswiencim Chapel in the Franciscan Church at Krosno, and others.

The Renaissance in the period of its decline produced some buildings of the first rank, such as the Church of St. Peter (by Bernardone and Gislénus), and the church known as the "Wallachian" church at Cracow; the Churches of the Benedictines and Bernardines at Lwów; the Dominican Church at Jaroslaw; the Bernardines Church at Sokal; the Synagogues at Leszniow, Belz, Krystynopol, all in Austrian Poland. Throughout the 16th century the magnates vied with one another in the construction of countless luxurious and magnificent castles and palaces, many of them modelled on the Royal Castle of the Wawel. Among the finest examples are:—Baranow, Krasieczyn, Wola Justowska (near Cracow), Sucha, Sanok, Lisko, Brzezany, Szymbark, in Austrian Poland; Janowiec, Olyka, Mir, Ostrog, Wisniowiec, in Russian Poland; Goluchow, Kornik, the Dzialynski and Gorka palaces at Poznan, in Prussian Poland. The wealthy citizens of the period were not behind-hand in this architectural activity. They built superb town halls (examples, Poznan, Gdansk, Tarnow, Jaroslaw, Frysztat) and hundreds of princely mansions. Cracow owes

⁴ In the opinion of the famous art critic, Essenwein.

to them its two magnificent "market places" and the 16th century Street of the Canons with its harmonious and characteristic arcades. It was the municipality which built the Great Market Place at Lwów, the Old Town at Warsaw, and several streets at Zamosc. The same period has left us fine buildings at Spisz and Orawa, and others at Lewocza, Lubowla, Podoliniec (on the northern frontier of what is now Hungary). As a rule the Renaissance buildings which we owe to Polish architects are distinguished by their picturesqueness, by a wealth of ornament, sometimes indulged in at the expense of regularity and proportion. Among these architects ought to be mentioned Benedict of Sandomir, and Gabriel Slonski (1520—1598).

Baroque. The advent of the baroque style is signalled by St. Anne's Church at Cracow (built by Sollari); the Convent of the Camaldensians (Spezza) at Bielany near Cracow, the Dominican Convents at Podkamien and Tarnopol, churches at Zolkiew and Wisnicz; the synagogues at Husiatyn, all in Austrian Poland; by the Church of St. Cross (Fontana) and the Church of the Visitandines at Warsaw; by the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul and the famous Chapel of St. Casimir (Danckerts van Ry) in the Cathedral of Wilno; by the Jesuit Church at Poznan, the Cathedral and picturesque fortifications at Kamieniec in Podolia; by the Cathedral at Luck, the Jesuit Church (now the Orthodox Cathedral) at Polock in the northern part of ancient Poland, and others. There are many examples in the same style in town and country mansions:—Willanow (the property of King Jan Sobieski, rebuilt by Belloti), the Palaces Radziwill and Pac at Wilno (Russian Poland), the Palaces, Potocki, Krzysztofory, Lubomirski, Czartoryski, and others at Cracow, at Podhorce, Zolkiew, Zloczow (Austrian Poland), the Town Hall at Chelmno (Culm) (Prussian Poland).

Later Styles. Of the rococo style (Louis XV) which flourished under the Saxon Kings, there are examples at Warsaw in the Churches of the Bernardines and the Carmelites, in the imposing Royal Palace, the Palaces Bruhl, Krasinski, Tarnowski, Bielinski, Zaluski; in Poznan in the Palaces at Rogalin, Rydzyna, Lubostron, Pawlowice, etc.; the graceful Town Hall at Buczacz; a part of the

Lubomirski Castle at Wisnicz; the Uniat Cathedral of St. George and the Dominican Church (built by de Witte) at Lwów; the fine church at Dukla; the Churches of the Piarists, the Missionaries and the Paulists at Cracow; and the synagogues at Zolkiew and Przeworsk (Austrian Poland).

The Louis Seize style made its appearance in the reign of Stanislas-Augustus (examples, the exquisite Palace Lazienki by Kamsetzer, Merlini and D. Fontana at Warsaw, the Jablonna and Pulawy mansions (formerly belonging to the Czartoryski), and those of Tulczyn and Romanow, etc.). The King attached to his court Kulicki (1758—1833), W. Louis, Metzel (1764—1848), who laid out the famous park of Zoflowka at Human. The Castle of Krolikarina (by Albertoli) near Warsaw is a rare example of the Directory style.

During the Empire period numerous buildings were erected, including the Palace Mostowski, the old Polish Bank, the Staszic College (altered by the Russians), the Grand Theatre (by Corazzi) at Warsaw; the Raczynski Library at Poznan; the Ossolinski Institute, built by General Bem, at Lwów; many buildings at Wilno by Gucwicz, and countless castles in the country by Lanci, Podczaszynski, H. Marconi, and other well-known architects. The Empire style, tastefully adapted to exigencies of environment, has in Poland an individual character which has not failed to attract attention from foreign experts.

Restorations. In the 19th century Poland produced a school of architects who, uniting exhaustive technical knowledge to real talent, were able to compete successfully with Western artists. They applied themselves to learned restoration. Examples: Kremer (1812—1860), Pokutynski (1829—1875), Prylimski (1847—1895) (who restored the Clothworkers' Hall at Cracow), Stryjenski, Z. Hendel (1862), who restored the Royal Castle of the Wawel. They also erected many public and private buildings in which a sound taste is happily united with consideration for the demands of modern comfort. There should be mentioned H. and L. Marconi (buildings of the Society of Land Credit at Warsaw), Ksienzarski (1820—1884) (the new buildings at Cracow Uni-

versity), Dziekonski (1844) (St. Florian's Church, Warsaw), Odrzywolski (1846) (Industrial School and Technical Association at Cracow), Falkowski, W. Marconi (Public Library, Warsaw), J. Heurich, Hochberger (the Diet Palace at Lwów), Zachariewicz (Polytechnic at Lwów), Gorgolewski, Zawiejski (1854) (Municipal Theatre, Cracow), Talowski (St. Elizabeth's Church, Cracow, churches at Tarnopol, Nowy Soncz, and numerous private houses), Zubrzycki (Church at Podgorze), Szyller (Polytechnic and the Poniatowski viaduct at Warsaw), Monczynski (Jesuit Church at Cracow), Payzderski (churches in Poznań), Tolwinski (churches at Warsaw), Horodecki (churches at Kiev), etc.

Native Architecture. In addition to special variations of the great architectural styles in Poland (e.g. "Vistula Gothic"), there are two types of Polish building which have wholly distinctive and national features.

In Polish country districts are scattered about the "dwory," or residences of the lesser nobility. These buildings began to multiply in the 16th century and were at first influenced by the Renaissance and later by the Baroque style. Others, dating from the 18th century, adopt mansard roofs, reflecting in their simple style a remote French influence. Those built during the Empire period have their façades decorated with a peristyle and balconies supported by columns. All these elements borrowed from foreign styles are adapted to the exigencies of the climate, and to ancient national traditions, and the whole harmonizes happily with the Polish landscape, constituting a truly native style at once sober and graceful.

But it is the buildings in wood which are essentially national in character. Constructed by native architects to meet the needs of a poor population, urban or rural, these wooden buildings show only the vaguest traces of the influence of European styles and preserve a tradition handed down from a prehistoric art. And it is in these rude but fascinating buildings that we must seek the purest expression of the æsthetic feeling of the race. Curious specimens of this art have survived from almost every period from the 12th century onwards. The most interesting, perhaps, are in Galicia. Here we find not only churches and chapels,

like those at Oroholycz (Greek-Catholic, 12th century), at Wojnicz (13th century), at Dembno and Libusja, with their 14th and 15th century polychrome; at Mogila, Rabka, Nadworna and Lipnica Murowana, and synagogues like those at Jablonow, Nasielsk, etc., but also civic buildings in great number—barns, town-halls, etc., at Rymanow, Zakliczyn, Krosno, Chodorow, and even entire market towns, the houses of which are decorated with beautiful galleries and colonnades in wood. Examples: Czchow, Skalat, Jablonkow (Austrian Poland); Puck in Cachoubia (Prussian Poland). This attractive archaic art is also seen in furniture, tools, all those various objects in wood, stone, iron, tin and copper which the peasants in certain parts of Poland (particularly in the Carpathian districts) continue to make at the present day.

In our own time the type of building and decoration indigenous to the mountainous country of the Tatra in Podhale has, thanks to the propaganda of Matlakowski, S. Witkiewicz, and Moklowski, etc., become popular under the title of the "Zakopane"⁵ style.

SCULPTURE

For three centuries (the 10th to the 13th) Polish sculpture was influenced by the Hildesheim school. From this period dates the magnificent Romanesque gateway of the Cathedral of Gniezno (Gnesen), representing scenes from the life of S. Adalbert. The gateway of Plock Cathedral, discovered recently and restored, that of the Church of St. Vincent at Wroclaw (Breslau, 12th century), and many gateways and capitals in provincial Romanesque churches, are distinguished by their rich and harmonious decoration.

Gothic art has left in Poland a large number of anonymous works: tombs, often in polychrome, in Greater Poland, in Silesia, at Cracow (tomb of Ladislaw I [Lokietek] in the Wawel); crucifixes, baptismal fonts (Poznanian), and at

⁵ It may be interesting to mention the resemblance between this Zakopane style and the Gallo-Celtic style of decoration, of which examples have survived in certain buildings in Switzerland, and are preserved in the museum of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Ruskin, who was interested in this style, had intended to go to Poland to study it there, but died before his project was realised.

Lublin, Sandomir, etc. French influence became all-powerful under Casimir the Great. To it we owe the tomb of that monarch at Cracow; the realistic sculptures (14th century) in the Church of Our Lady; the fine decoration of the Hetmans' Hall in one of the Palaces in the Great Square, and a little later in date, the sarcophagus of Ladislaw II (Jagiello).

Wit Stwosz. Sculptors' studios were opened at Cracow, and then appeared Wit Stwosz (Veit Stoss) (1435—1533), the greatest realistic master of northern art in the Middle Ages. Skilful composition, a wealth of original ornament, the energy and vitality of the figures are the characteristic qualities of this admirable artist. Among his masterpieces scattered also over Hungary and Germany, there must be mentioned the marvellous triptych of Our Lady and the tomb of Kasimierz Jagiello at the Cathedral, the Garden of Olives on the gateway of St. Barbara (both at Cracow), tombs at Wloclawek; the tomb of Cardinal Z. Olesnicki at Gniezno. Among the pupils of this great master who became famous were Stanislaw Stwosz the younger, and Paul Urbanowicz, who decorated churches and castles in Spisz and Orawa (Polish territory in the north of what is now Hungary). In Poland there worked also Andreas Dürer, Jorcus Huber, Labenwolf (monument to N. Herbut in Lwów Cathedral), J. Pfister (decoration of the Boim Chapel at Lwów, and in collaboration with H. Horst the tombs of the Sieniawski family in the church at Brzezany); Melchior Bayr (silver rood screen at Cracow). Mention must be also made of the native artists, Stanislaw of Cracow and Stephan Stawowicz.

Stwosz's sculpture is chiefly in wood, but he also made models in wax for P. Vischer,⁶ who cast them in bronze. It is to Vischer that we owe the commemorative reliefs that can be seen at Cracow; those of Kmita and Frederic Jagiello in the Cathedral; of Callimachus in the Dominican Church; of Solomon in the Church of Our Lady; of the Bishops

⁶ It ought to be said here that a number of German and Polish critics contend that Wit Stwosz exercised a great influence on the work of Albrecht Durer, and that all the masterpieces attributed to P. Vischer ought to be attributed to Stwosz, to whom Vischer only acted as a workman caster.

Gorka and Lubranski at Poznan; of A. Szamotulski at Szamotuly, etc.

Popular sculpture in Poland was also strongly influenced by Gothic art. In country churches and chapels, in monuments erected at cross-roads we find Virgins and Christs naïvely carved by unknown artists which show a rare vigour in plastic realism and carry on the mediæval tradition.

Italian Influences. In spite of the relations established between Poland and artistic centres in Germany, Italian art was not long in getting the upper hand. Cracow Cathedral abounds in Renaissance statues. G. M. Padovano executed the funeral monuments of the Bishops Tomicki and Gamrat; the fine frieze and masks in the Clothworkers' Hall at Cracow; the tombs of the Tarnowski family at Tarnow. It was he, too, who, in collaboration with P. Lugano and Jakob Trwaly, a Pole, executed the splendid funeral monuments of the Oswiencim in the Franciscan Church at Krosno. Other Italian masters sculptured royal tombs: Olbracht (Francesco Italiano), those of Zygmunt I and II at Cracow, the decorations of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul at Wilno, the tombs of many princes and magnates at Warsaw and in the provinces. The beautiful decorations of the Zygmunt chapel in the Wawel are the work of Antonio da Fiesole, of Cini and of Bartolomeo Beresci, of the Sienese School. The Padovano School produced the Polish sculptor-architect Wadowski, and above all, J. Michalowicz of Urzendow, a man of bold talent who introduced into his Renaissance compositions motives of an almost oriental splendour (tomb of Bishop Zebrzydowski in the Wawel).

In the provinces the houses and funeral monuments of the magnates are ornamented with sculptures, as for example at Opatow, Krasnik, Lowicz, Lomza, Plock, Szydlowiec, etc.

Cini, Padovano Caraglio, D. Veneziano and others struck a number of excellent medals in Poland.

At this period Polish technique attained full mastery. The foundries of the country produced exquisitely ornamented cannons, great bells (for example the Zygmunt bell at the Wawel, the work of Behem), etc.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the close relations with Italy were maintained and the baroque style

flourished not only at Cracow, but at Warsaw, Wilno, and Lwów. Ridolfi and Santi Gucci sculptured many tombs and statues; Canavisi decorated the Cathedral Square at Cracow with his twelve Apostles; the brothers B. and D. Fontana decorated the walls of St. Anne's, Cracow, with beautiful stucco work; Succatori and Castelli those of the Camaldensian monastery at Bielany; Falconi those of the Oswiencim Chapel in the Franciscan Church at Krosno. Later the rococo period of Louis XV produced the fine statues in St. George's Cathedral at Lwów, and those in the Church at Kalwarya, as well as some statues by Lebrun in the Royal Lazienki Park at Warsaw. A more sober style of art is represented by N. Volcet and D. Tiems.

The Empire Period. In the Empire style we have the statues by the celebrated Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen in Cracow Cathedral and in the Dominican Church at Lwów; the Copernic monument at Warsaw and the monument to Prince Joseph Poniatowski, formerly at Warsaw and now at Homel on the estate of Prince Paskiewicz; Tataskiewicz, who in his turn taught C. Ceptowski, was an able pupil of Thorwaldsen's. There should also be mentioned the Italians Ricci and Taddolini, the Poles Count Sosnowski, H. Stattler (1804—1877) (tomb of Princess Sapieha at Krasiczyn); L. Szubert (1830—1857), P. Filippi (1836—1874).

The 19th Century. The absence of a national government, and the difficulties experienced by three-quarters of the towns in disposing freely of their resources, have prevented sculpture, an expensive art, from developing normally in Poland. Nevertheless, throughout the 19th century works of value on classical lines were continuously produced. This school, closely connected with contemporary French art, is represented by W. Brodzki (1825—1904), who was much esteemed at Rome, where he settled (sculpture at Cracow and Lwów); Gadowski ("Herodias" in the National Museum, and "Copernic" in the Academy of Science at Cracow), with his pupils T. Blotnicki and A. Daun; and C. Godebski (1835—1899), well known in Paris, and sculptor of the Mickiewicz monument at Warsaw, the Copernic monument at Cracow, the Goluchowski monument at Lwów; M. Guyski (1830—1893), an admirable portrait

sculptor (busts of Mickiewicz and of the great tragic actress Modrzejewska). There should also be mentioned T. Rygier (monument to Mickiewicz at Cracow), Marcinkowsky (the Slowacki monument at Miloslaw in Poznan); Brzega, the son of a family of mountaineers; P. Wojtowicz, creator of the beautiful "Young Girl" and "The Rape of the Sabines" at Cracow; also Pleszowski Lipinski, Woydyga, Wasilkowski.

Towards the end of the 19th century a new wave of realism from France came to reform Polish sculpture. Kurzawa, who died at an early age in 1898, executed his powerful monument of Mickiewicz (Cracow National Museum) and his "Wawel" (Society of Fine Arts, Cracow). Welonski's "Gladiator," after a triumphal tour through Europe, is now in the Cracow Museum. The same artist executed The Way of the Cross at Czenstochowa, etc. Madeyski executed the tomb of Queen Jadwiga and that of Ladislaw of Warma in Cracow Cathedral. W. Szymanowski modelled the imposing design for a symbolic procession of the Kings of Poland destined for the Wawel, and the Grottger monument at Cracow. Fine monuments to national heroes have been designed by Popiel (Statue of Mickiewicz at Lwów, and of Pulaski in America), L. Marconi (Statue of Fredro at Lwów), Baroncz (1849) (statue of Jan Sobieski at Lwów), S. Lewandowski (1859) and Glicenstein and Laszczka have done work full of vigour and insight both in portrait sculpture and decorative composition.

Present Day. The new generation of Polish sculptors is abreast with all artistic tendencies, even the most revolutionary, and abounds in real talent. Many of these young masters have won distinction at the Salons of Paris, Munich and Vienna. Among those in the first rank are Dunikowski (symbolic and decorative sculpture), Wittig, a brilliant pupil of Rodin (compositions and portraits); A. Wiwulski (monument commemorating the victory of the Poles over the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald in 1410, erected at Cracow, thanks to the munificence of the great artist and patriot, J. Paderewski); Ostrowski, portrait sculpture, with a leaning towards psychological problems and pastoral scenes; Biegas (curious naturalistic busts); J. Szczepkowski (charming busts of women); Pelczarski (studies of women and child-

ren); Baron Puszet-Puget, a highly appreciated animal sculptor; Nadelman, an original modernist; W. Konieczny, Lepła, Kunzek, Landowski, Gwozdecki, Ruffer, Hochman, Kurczynski (decorative sculptor), Lewicki, Black (portrait sculptor), Jackowski, Kwilecki, S. Kozubek; Mmes. L. Drexler, Malaczynska, Certowicz, Konczewska, Broniewska. Medallists: W. Trojanowski, J. Raszka, J. Wysocki, etc.

PAINTING AND DECORATIVE ARTS

Early Works. The most ancient illuminated manuscripts in Poland date from the 11th century (Museums, Petrograd). From the 13th century the libraries at Cracow possessed a goodly number. In the churches of this ancient capital (the Church of Our Lady, the Dominican Church, etc.), the fine glass of the 14th and 15th centuries, the work of Cracowian artists, is always greatly admired.

Fine frescoes and interesting pictures dating from the 14th to the 17th century decorate the walls of many Cracow churches (Saint-Cross, Saint-Catherine, the Cathedral, the cloisters of the Franciscan and Dominican Churches, the courtyard of the Royal Castle). They are also to be met with in large numbers in the provinces. There must also be mentioned the Byzantine frescoes (15th century) in the Cathedral of the Wawel, and those at Lublin.

The influence of the Prague school gave way in the 15th century to that of the Cologne school and of the old Flemish masters. The lingering traces of Byzantine influence gradually disappeared from Polish art.

In the 15th century painters' guilds flourished; the Cracow guild was formed in 1410. As everywhere else in the Middle Ages work was for the most part anonymous. A Polish school of painting was gradually formed; it was distinguished by brilliancy of colour and individuality of subject. Relations with Nuremberg were closely maintained. At Cracow in 1514—18 there were painting H. Suess von Kulmbach (churches of St. Florian and Our Lady), and in 1525—38 Hans Dürer. His brother Albrecht stayed there from 1490 to 1492. The range of painting broadened; interest began to be taken not only in religious pictures but in portraits.

Miniature painting was cultivated with brilliant success. H. H. Zimmermann (Carpentarius), of Moravia, who settled at Cracow (1501—32), illuminated the magnificent illustrated Codex of B. Behaim in the Jagiello Library, the Pontifical of Erasmus Ciolek in the Czartoryski Museum, and many other richly-decorated manuscripts. Near Cracow in the Abbey at Mogila, Stanislaus ex Mogila at the beginning of the 16th century executed his splendid works, liturgical books, antiphonars, which may be seen to-day at the Bodleian, Oxford, and in the British Museum.

Italian Influence. In the 16th century Italian painting began to penetrate into Poland, but it was not till the 17th century that it acquired an overwhelming importance, and thanks to the patronage of the kings and the magnates, definitely established itself and checked the progress of a budding national art. The best period of Italian painting was then in its decline, and it was an academic Roman and an eclectic Bolognese style which brought their influence to bear on the artists of Poland. Those skilful successors of the Venetian colourists, T. Della Bella and his sons, created in Poland between 1600 and 1650 a numerous school (Cieszynski, Blechowski, and the Proszowskis). Other Italian painters then came and settled in the country; they were Zyganti, Vagiola, Venanti, Altomonti (decorations in the church at Zolkiew).

Dutch and Flemish Influence. At the close of the 16th century the influence of the Dutch and Flemish schools also made itself felt to some extent. Rembrandt painted his famous Polish portraits ("The man in the fur cap," now in the Hermitage at Petrograd, etc.). Rubens painted the Kings Zygmunt III and Ladislaw IV; Danckerts van Ry, a pupil of Rubens, superintended the building of the Chapel of St. Casimir in Wilno Cathedral and decorated it with his polychromes. The Flemish artists had gifted pupils: Lexycki (d. 1668), a vigorous colourist who decorated many churches in Cracow; Kalwarya, Zebrzydowska, etc.; Freherus, Strobel, Eleutherius Siemiginowski, who worked for churches in Warsaw, Wilno and Cracow. B. Lubieniecki (1653—1730) and K. Lubieniecki (1659—1729) were responsible for many original historical and genre pictures as well as landscapes. Tricius

(Trzycki), a pupil of N. Poussin and of Jordaens, represented the French School in Poland. A. F. Desportes worked at the Court of King Jan III (Sobieski), who subventioned a school of painting at Willanow for young Poles. At the same period A. Ubelski, born in France, won the "Grand Prix," and afterwards decorated the crypt of the second Chapel of Santa Maria Trastevere at Rome. He was elected to the Academy and died at Paris in 1718.

The Graphic Arts. In Graphic Art Poland can boast of masters of the first rank. The engravings of the great sculptor, Wit Stwosz, in the 15th century, are well known. Later on Treter (1558—1611), the painter of portraits of Popes Gregory XIII and Clement VIII, published that much sought after book "*Theatrum Virtutum*," illustrated with 100 plates. In the 17th century there were many European claims to the famous engravers Hondius and Falk Polonus (1619—1667). The last-named earned the title of painter royal at four different courts successively, viz., France, Holland, Denmark and Sweden. Ziarnko of Lwów won a considerable reputation in France under the name of Le Grain or Il Grano (a translation of his Polish name).

The 18th Century. During the first half of the 18th century foreign artists were still supreme in Poland, where the Kings of the House of Saxony took pleasure in encouraging the fine arts. By way of Dresden, many French artists came and established themselves at Warsaw, including Louis de Sylvestre (a pupil of Lebrun), Baron S. de Mirys (d. 1788), E. de la Hire, Dubut, Bechot, L. Marteau (several portraits). Monti, Dankwart, Molitor, Hubel, Precht, and Ahorn decorated churches. Owing to the powerful influence exercised by this influx of foreign talent, the compositions of the Polish painters, even the best among them, were still lacking in national characteristics. J. Stroinski executed the frescoes in the Bernardine Church at Lezajsk. Czechowicz (1689—1775) and P. Koniecz (Kuntze, 1700—1780) painted religious pictures in the manner of their masters, Maratta and L. Giordano. The famous engraver and designer D. Chodowiecki (1726—1801) is a typical Pole, in spite of the fact that his subjects are not national. His correspondence proves conclusively that

the German claim to him is illfounded. The portrait-painter A. Kucharski (1736—1820), who settled in France, is known above all by his famous pastel portrait of Marie Antoinette on the eve of her execution.

In spite of this manifestation of talent, art in Poland was not yet receiving enough encouragement. It was only King Stanislaus-Augustus, seconded by the Princes Czartoryski and other magnates, who gave it any efficacious support. The King's influence helped to keep alive all branches of art. Artistic crafts flourished so vigorously at this period that it is necessary at this point to devote a few words to them, departing for a moment from our principal theme.

Applied Arts and Crafts. From the 14th century carpets and hangings from the East abounded in Poland, and it was through her that they were introduced into Western Europe; native industries, after deriving their inspiration from these models, passed under Flemish and French influences. Count Tyzenhauz in the 18th century established factories for tapestry which rivalled those of the Gobelins and Aubusson. Other magnates followed his example. The Republic, which had for some time been able to boast of the famous silk manufactories of Sluck⁷ (Polish sashes of Maziarski, Kobylinski, etc.), the glass works of Urzecz (under the Princes Radziwill), armouries at Lwów, etc., was now to see the development of the manufacture of china and pottery at Warsaw (Royal Belvedere factory), at Korzec (Princes Czartoryski), at Baranowka (J. Meser), at Tomaszow (the Counts Zamoyski), at Nieborow (the Princes Radzivill), etc., the exquisitely beautiful products of which are the pride of a number of European museums, including the British Museum. Towards the end of the 18th century the decorative arts in Poland, cabinet-making, book-binding, carpets, pottery, watch-making (Gugenmuss at Warsaw and Krosz at Cracow) attained a perfection which has been recognised by antiquaries all over the world.

Reign of Stanislas-Augustus. But it was painting in particular which owed its fresh activity to Stanislaus-Augustus. He summoned to his court Marteau, Canaletto,

⁷ Magnificent examples of carpets and sashes from Sluck are now in the Louvre.

Mme. Vigée-Lebrun, Lampi, Grassi, Fueger; he showed special favour to M. Bacciarelli and Norblin. Polish galleries and collections contain many canvases by these artists. They started schools and became instructors, with the result that the age of Stanislaus-Augustus is one of the most fertile in the history of Polish art. It was then that a taste for the study of art began to spread throughout the country, with the result that art professorships were founded at the Universities of Cracow and Wilno. M. Bacciarelli (1731—1818), in addition to his historical and mythological paintings (frescoes in the Lazienki Palace at Warsaw), produced many fine portraits and, becoming completely Polish, founded one of Poland's most brilliant schools of painting. Among his pupils must be mentioned W. Leseur (1745—1813), a delicate miniaturist; K. Wojniakowski (1772—1812), a remarkable portrait painter and observer of Polish types; J. B. Plersch (1732—1817) a master of stage decoration. Side by side with the Bacciarelli school there grew up at Lwów the school of J. Pitschmann (1758—1834) and that of Reichen (1762—1822), both pupils of Füger and portrait-painters of merit; at Wilno the school of F. Smuglewicz (1745—1807), a master versed in the classical tradition, whose religious paintings are to be found in many churches in Wilno and the provinces (convent of the Holy Cross at Lysa-Gora). Among the pupils of Smuglewicz was J. Oleskiewicz (1777—1830), a mystical painter.

But the artistic movement owes even more to J. P. Norblin de la Gourdain (1745—1830), a pupil of Watteau. Acute observation, brilliant colour, vigorous execution are his great qualities. He was the first to render with exact fidelity popular Polish scenes. (See the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow, and "Polish Costume," engraved by Debucourt and published at Paris). His realism is not divorced from good taste and elegance (ceiling in Prince Radzivil's Castle, "Arcadia," near Lowicz). It was in his school that Polish art found regeneration by turning to national themes. He had countless disciples, among them Z. Vogel (1764—1826), painter and engraver of old streets and castles; J. Rustem (1770—1835), a Polonised Turk, portrait and genre painter; M. Plonski (1782—1812), land-

scape painter and engraver of the first rank. But the most eminent of all Norblin's pupils was A. Orlowski (1777—1832), an exquisite colourist and a remarkable water-colour painter and draughtsman. His noblemen, his citizens, his peasants, his military scenes, full of life and movement, his incomparable horses, gave him an exceptional position among painters at the beginning of the 19th century. He was particularly appreciated and sought after by English connoisseurs. It was partly under his influence that the fine talent of J. Sokolowski (1784—1837) (caricatures, water colours, lithographs) developed.

The National School. M. Stachowicz (1768—1835) worked at Cracow. In spite of technical defects, his works have had immense educational value by reason of their wealth of observation and the variety of their subjects (a great number of pictures in churches at Cracow and its environs, frescoes in the episcopal palace, etc.). Departing from the way set by Norblin, he insisted above everything else on the patriotic and historical element, of which he is one of the pioneers in Polish art. W. Wankowicz (1799—1842) is best known by his portrait of Mickiewicz. A pupil of Overbeck, W. Stattler (1800—1882), won the gold medal at Paris for his "Maccabees." A Kokular (1793—1846) was an excellent portrait-painter. M. Zalewski (1796—1877) won his reputation by his paintings of interiors of churches and palaces. In the graphic arts the skilful successors of Norblin won distinction:—J. Piwarski (1794—1859), K. Kielisinski, and A. Oleszczynski (1794—1879), whose engravings were much sought after in Paris. J. Glowacki (1802—1847) and A. Plonczynski were successful landscape painters, A. Reichan (1808—1861) painted at Lwów good portraits and tasteful water-colours; J. Suchodolski (1797—1875), a pupil of H. Vernet, won great appreciation through his historical pictures ("The Death of Czarniecki"). This period is fittingly crowned by the work of P. Michalowski (1800—1855). This artist, a pupil of Charlet, has left a whole series of military compositions, in which vigorous and original talent is manifested, and the great figure of Napoleon is depicted with unusual penetration. He also left some remarkable portraits; but it is as a painter of horses that he has won most admiration in

France and England. Balzac alludes to him in his novels, and Rosa Bonheur regarded him as her master.

By the middle of the 19th century Polish painting finally emerged from the period of experiment; it emancipated itself from foreign domination and became essentially national. Romanticism and "nazarethism" were still to be discerned in a certain leaning towards conventional prettiness, and the idealisation of themes as much in figure pictures as in landscapes, but the new tendencies gained ground. There were two main currents, one following the French school, Delacroix, Charlet, Raffet, Corot; the other the Munich and Düsseldorf school (Schwind, Kaulbach, etc.). The Vienna Academy was not without influence on genre painters. Polish artists turned the lessons of these different schools to account for the establishment of an independent style of art imbued with the national spirit.

H. Rodakowski (1823—1894), a portrait-painter in the grand style, won honours at many international exhibitions (medal of the First Class at Paris); Delacroix was enthusiastic over his Polish and French portraits (the celebrated portrait of the artist's mother). It is to Rodakowski that we owe the great frieze "The Benefits of Civilisation" in the Diet at Lwów, and a number of charming water-colour genre paintings. L. Kaplinski (1826—1873) shows a highly individual and characteristically Polish temperament in his portraits. There ought also to be mentioned T. Gorecki (1825—1868), who settled in Paris; W. Leopolski, M. Maszkowski (1837—1862), A. Grabowski (1833—1886), an exquisite water-colour and portrait painter; I. Tepa (1828—1889), and the fresco painter C. Marconi.

J. Kossak (1824—1899) was both a genre and historical painter. The pupil of Horace Vernet, he rivals his master in his battle and equestrian scenes, and evokes with incomparable skill the horsemanship of the nobles in old times. Under his brush the old Polish countryside lives again in all its charm, and there live again also the splendid warriors of the past ("Retreat of the Army from Bourbaki"), peasant types, and scenes of long ago. His masterly vision of the shape and movement of the horse places him among the most famous masters in this style of painting. He exercised an enormous influence over a whole generation.

We also owe to him many drawings published, for the most part, in "The Warsaw Illustrated Weekly." The art of E. Andriolli (1837—1893), in spite of its defects, has great vivacity and energy. He produced engravings in the style of Gustav Doré. Among humourist painters ought to be mentioned A. Raczynski (1822—1889) and J. Kostrzewski (1826—1909), a painter of fascinating verve (popular scenes). A. Kotsis (1836—1877) painted fresh village idylls and luminous mountain scapes ("The Tatra"). To this brief enumeration must be added T. Brodowski and the poet draughtsman C. Norwid.

Landscape was not in great favour in Poland at this period. However there must be mentioned the names of J. Szermentowski (1833—1876), whose pictures attract through their intimate charm and resemble those of the Barbizon school. They had a well deserved vogue in France. A. Gryglewski (1833—1879) renders with consummate art the interiors of humble country churches as well as magnificent rooms in noble houses.

Historical painting, however, was the form in which this period excelled. Nearly all the artists devoted themselves to it, whatever their ability or their predilections, *e.g.*, M. Piotrowski (1813—1875), professor at the Königsberg School of Fine Arts and a pupil of the Düsseldorf School; A. Lesser (Munich School, 1814—1844); J. Simmler (1823—1868) left some canvases of real value and fine colour ("Sigismund-Augustus at the Death-bed of Queen Barbara"). I. Gierdziejewski (1826—1860) shows in his naïve compositions, the work of a self-taught genius, some of the romanticist influence of Schwind. Luszczkiewicz (1828—1906), a painter of merit, was also an excellent teacher, and a good historian of Polish art. Loeffler won success, particularly at Vienna, through his historical pictures. At Warsaw the historical painter W. Gerson (1831—1901) and the genre painter H. Pillati (1832—1894) enjoyed a deserved reputation and produced some brilliant pupils. Exotic tendencies are represented by the oriental canvases, distinguished by superb colour and striking originality, of S. Chlebowski (1835—1884), who for some time was attached to the court of the Sultan Abdul-Azis.

It fell to the lot of two artists at this period to express most eloquently the soul of their race, and at the same time to win high rank among the great European masters. A. Grottger (1837—1867) studied under Schwind at Munich; a water-colour painter and draughtsman before everything, he excelled in many kinds of painting, but it is in his celebrated cycles of drawings that his powerful imagination and lofty inspiration are most clearly revealed. "War," "Polonia," "Lithuania," vibrating with patriotic grief and horror at the cruelties of war, are veritable masterpieces. The genius of Jan Matejko (1838—1893) is inspired by the great and glorious past of his country and the desire to draw from it lessons for the future. This artist, who loved Poland so ardently, has left her a splendid monument in his work, which is independent of all foreign influence and all schools. His immense output (240 gigantic canvases, without counting thousands of sketches and drawings) is impregnated with patriotic ideas which he knew how to make visible through his mastery of his art. Universally admired, even by those not in sympathy with his artistic theories, he became a member of the French Institute, and is certainly the most renowned representative of Polish art abroad. His enormous historical pictures bear witness to his profound historical knowledge as well as to his psychological insight and his complete technical mastery. We must content ourselves with mentioning some of the pictures by him which were exhibited in different exhibitions at the close of the 19th century. "The Battle of Grünwald" (Warsaw Museum), "Peter Skarga," the "Union of Lublin," the "Homage of the Duke of Prussia," "Batory," "Joan of Arc," "Wernyhora" (at Cracow), "Sobieski" (at the Vatican Gallery, Rome). We also owe to him the marvellous polychrome decoration "Symphony of the Angels" which adorns the walls of the Church of Our Lady at Cracow.

H. Siemiradzki (1843—1902), member of several Academies, is known by his beautiful nude studies and his classical and mythological canvases (*e.g.*, "Phryne," at Petrograd, "The Young Girl and the Vase," "The Torches of Nero" (awarded a medal at Paris and now in the Cracow National Museum). He also painted the fine

curtain at the municipal theatre in this town and the one at Lwów.

Realism. The new realistic tendencies were not long, however, in making themselves felt in painting. Direct observation of nature, a feeling for air and light, invaded art, and Polish painting, arrived at its maturity, and the full possession of its means, can boast of possessing not merely a few isolated cases of great talent, but a whole generation of artists who have worthily represented it in the eyes of the world. The painters of the Munich school were the first to distinguish themselves. J. Brandt (1841—1915), depicter of the knightly "Szlachta" (the lesser nobility) and the Cossacks of old times, won instant recognition in Europe by his historical canvases and genre pictures. Czachorski (1850) is a refined painter of women. A. Wierusz Kowalski (1849—1915) excels in his renderings of horses and of snowy plains ("The Wolf Hunt"). J. Buchbinder (1850) rivals Terborch. Max Gierymski (1846—1874) was much admired in France and Germany for his genre pictures, his landscapes, and his historical and battle scenes. So was his brother, A. Gierymski, a master of light effects ("Sunset on the Seine"). The galleries of Berlin, Vienna, Munich and Poland have vied with each other to secure their works.

The typically Polish talent of J. Chelmonski (1850—1914) provoked great enthusiasm in Paris. He was able to depict with an incomparable poetic touch the soul of his country's landscape and the melancholy and the passion of his race ("The Forest," "Partridges in the Snow," "The Four-in-Hand"). Many artists have ranged themselves round this master:—Benedyktowicz, Kochanowski, Wywiorski, Rapacki, H. Weyssenhof, Maslowski, Eismont, Nalencz, Szczyglinski, Pstrokonski, Janowski, Kendzierski, Gawinski, Wankie, Stabrowski.

In portraiture Madame Bilinska shows virile talent (d. 1884). Excellent examples of her work are to be seen in the Luxembourg at Paris and the Museum at Cracow. Other well-known portrait painters are K. Pochwalski, a rival of Lenbach's (portrait of the Emperor Francis Joseph and many others), Augustynowicz (Vienna), Lentz (War-

saw). Makarewicz, besides his interesting studies of Ruthenian peasants, has designed some beautiful decorations in polychrome for several churches. M. Gottlieb (1856—1879), an artist of oriental temperament, comes near Makart in the magnificence of his decorative painting. H. Lipinski (1848—1884) has left many fine genre pictures. The canvases of Maleszewski and Zmurko are devoted chiefly to depicting feminine charms. Among religious painters should be mentioned Krudowski, J. Krzesz, Stachiewicz (Vienna, Munich), J. Styka (Paris), W. Kotarbinski (biblical scenes). The reputation of the Polish historical school is maintained in France, England, Germany and America by some distinguished artists:—J. Rosen ("The Convoy of the Standards," "Tilsit"); W. Kossak, the spirited battle painter ("Olszynka," "Somo-Sierra," "The Berezina"); Ajdukiewicz, Alchimowicz, Chelminski, Popiel. In landscape and genre painting: Bakalowicz, Siedlecki, Krasnowolski, Wodzinowski, Stroynowski, Chmielowski, Kaczor-Batowski, Wygrzywalski, Wawrzyniecki, Cionglinski, Piotrowicz and others.

The portrait-painter and pastellist Pruszkowski (1846—1896) transports us to Siberia and reveals to us the desolation of that land of exile and suffering so moving to Polish hearts ("The Convoy, Eloë"). Pruszkowski and Podkowiński (d. 1895), painter of the famous "Madness," were the precursors in Poland of the new revolutionary theories in art. J. Malczewski (1855), in his landscapes, triptychs, and profoundly symbolic portraits, expresses the sufferings and aspirations of his nation with a highly individual and powerful realism and a faultless draughtsmanship ("The Siberian Mines," "The Death of Ellenai," "The Lark," "The Last Polish Generations," "The Enchanted Circle"). Wlastimil Hoffman, one of his best pupils, paints dreamy Madonnas with the features of Polish peasant women.

Wyspianski. A place quite apart must be assigned to the gifted poet and painter, S. Wyspianski (1869—1907). An engraver with a remarkably strong touch, and the designer of somewhat violent stained glass, he also painted portraits showing remarkable psychological insight, landscapes, and delightful flower pieces, in which certainty of line competes with brilliancy of colour (glass windows and

decorations in St. Francis', Cracow, and Lwów Cathedral, cartoons in the National Museum). Among his disciples are Rembowski, Niesiolowski, Mitarski, etc. J. Mehoffer, portrait-painter, decorative artist, and colourist, has embodied his daring ideas in the famous glass at Fribourg and Cracow, in the polychrome of a chapel in the Cathedral of the Wawel, and in numerous pictures. W. Tetmajer, decorative painter (glass and polychrome paintings in the Cathedral and in the Church of Our Lady at Cracow), has also seized to the life rustic episodes in the neighbourhood of Cracow. L. Wyczolkowski (1852), an artist of extraordinary creative power, excels in every style—portraits, mountain types, still life, woodcuts, etchings, effects of light—everything has attracted this sincere artist, and in everything he has succeeded. J. Falat (1853) is certainly one of the best water colour-painters of our time. His portraits, his hunting scenes, his views of Cracow, his Tatra and Beskides landscapes, and particularly his prodigious snowscapes, have hardly been surpassed anywhere (Berlin, Vienna, and Cracow Galleries.) Pankiewicz delights in low tones, in a mysterious twilight, as the basis of his pictures. J. Stanislawski (1860—1907), a subtle master for whom landscape is a mood, a thing entirely subjective, has produced a remarkable school of artists (the Czajkowskis, Kamocki, Filipkiewicz, Podgorski, Neuman, Fabianski, Uziemblo, Szygiel, F. Turek, Wrzeszcz, etc.). Ruszczyc, in his powerful landscapes, succeeds in capturing the most elusive effects of light ("The Earth"). S. Witkiewicz (1851—1915), a painter and a vehement yet profound critic, but above all an architect of great originality, has had a great influence on contemporary art; Cwiklinski's favourite theme is effects of light; Slewinski has rendered very finely the strong and sombre Breton landscape, besides painting some beautiful still life.

From W. Szymanowski's brush (1859) come large and strong genre compositions. He is also a remarkable sculptor. Mlle. O. Boznanska, after having conquered the public at Berlin, Vienna and Munich, has settled in Paris, where she has met with great success. The most famous European galleries, including the Luxembourg, possess some of her admirably executed misty portraits. T. Axentowicz

shows first-rate talent in his pastels, portraits of women, and Ruthenian and Carpathian scenes. Weiss is a much appreciated portrait painter. An exhibition in Paris of the works of Wojtkiewicz (dolls and children) has drawn attention to this original artist. Sichulski, the designer of many stained glass windows and a painter of scenes in the Carpathians, is also a spirited caricaturist. There should also be mentioned Pautsch and Jarocki, who have won honours at recent exhibitions at Rome and Venice (peasant scenes); J. Pienkowski (portraits), Unierzyski, Debicki, Rauchinger (portraits), Okon (decorations, portraits), Krzyształowicz, C. Maszkowski, A. Karpinski, Wachtel, L. Kowalski.

The Graphic Arts. Polish artists have had no difficulty in excelling in the graphic arts. Besides the masters who have already been mentioned, Pankiewicz and Wyczolkowski, Poland, in the second half of the 19th century, produced many engravers and etchers of merit:—Regulski, Tegazzo, Redlich (engravings after Matejko), Lopienski, Rubczak, Tondos, Jasinski, to whom Burne-Jones from choice entrusted the reproduction of his works. Among illustrators and draughtsmen are Holewinski, A. Kamienski, Gembarzewski, J. Jankowski, Jablczynski.

Cracow, with its Academy of Fine Arts, its museums and societies, is the centre of artistic activity in Poland. Warsaw (School of Fine Arts), Lwów, Wilno and Poznan come second.

Polish Futurists. All the tendencies of modern art, not excepting Futurism and Cubism, are represented among the young Poles who have settled in the principal artistic centres of Europe. Their works are exhibited by the hundred at Paris, Munich, Rome, Venice, Berlin and Vienna. Many of them have a European reputation. Without referring to artists who have already been mentioned in another connection, we will quote some of the names of the new school, of necessity omitting many names worthy of mention. Mmes. Mutermilch (the depicter of many poignant scenes of human misery), Ordynska, Korab-Mercère, MM. Borowski, d'Ercewill, Dobrodzicki, Gottlieb, Gwozdecki, K. Homolacz, Kossak (junior), Styka (junior), Kramsztyk, Makowski, Merkel, Mondral, Rzecki, Rubczak,

Samlicki, Skoczylas, Skotnicki, Terlicowski, Witkiewicz (junior), Witkowski, Zak, Zawadzinski, etc.

The Applied Arts have also flourished. At Cracow there is a very active society of applied art, of which Warchalowski is the able director : book-binding, house decoration, furniture, pottery, stage decoration (Frycz, Procajlowicz, Bukowski, Drabik, Spitziar (Kilims) : peasant tapestry work), printed stuffs (Mme. Rychter Janowsko), artistic weaving (Buczacz, in Galicia), designs for peasants' and artisans' houses—all these interest those Polish artists who have undertaken the noble mission of reviving and stimulating public taste, while always keeping to the fore the encouragement of national designs.

Peasant applied art is of exceptional interest in Poland and bears witness to an uncommon wealth of artistic instinct. In certain provinces the native costume is distinguished by innumerable embroidered designs and decoration of materials. There is also great variety in the decoration of utensils and furniture in common use. The combinations of colour are amazingly good, showing a keen sense of colour harmony. In this connection should be singled out for special mention the mountainous country of Podhale in Galicia and the environs of Lowicz, near Warsaw, the last a district which has suffered severely during the present war.

Conclusion. The main characteristic of Polish painting is a wealth of imagination to which are united profound poetic charm and exuberance of colour. Polish art reflects both the indomitable spirit of the nation and the melancholy which misfortune has cast over its soul. It is impregnated with the influence of its native soil and often draws its inspiration from old popular sources. Without boasting, we may claim that it occupies a foremost place in contemporary art, and everything goes to prove that its future will be even more brilliant than its present.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

It will be seen from the history of Poland which we have traced in the foregoing pages for a thousand years, that in spite of the most adverse circumstances, the country has

attained a high degree of civilisation, and has shown itself capable of keeping abreast of the most cultivated European nations in every branch of social, economic, and intellectual life. At the time when this handbook was completed, however, the country had to a great extent become a field of death; it had been ravaged and ruined through two years of the fury of war.

All those territories where stubborn and often indecisive fighting has taken place have suffered unprecedented devastation, the fatal results of which will be felt for years. A few figures taken from official sources at a time when the ruin was far from having attained its present proportions may give a rough idea of the cataclysm which swept over unfortunate Poland.

In the first six months of the war there were destroyed or damaged, over 11,500 villages, 300 towns, 12 health resorts, 9,000 farms and castles, 1,800 churches, and hundreds of factories. Since then incessant fighting, especially on the southern front, has served only to increase the devastation. Three-quarters of the cattle and horses have been commandeered or slaughtered. Agriculture has suffered terribly, trade hardly exists, industry has ceased to produce anything.

According to statistics furnished by the Central State Committee at the end of 1915 the loss suffered by agriculture in the Kingdom of Poland alone amounted at that date to over three milliards (750 millions) of francs, and that by industry to over a milliard and a half.

CHAPTER VII

ART AND SCIENCE COLLECTIONS

LIBRARIES in Poland date from the foundation and development of the monasteries, that is to say from the eleventh to the twelfth century (see **Public Education**). As in other European countries the monasteries in Poland showed enthusiastic zeal in establishing libraries. They also encouraged the arts, such as architecture, painting and sculpture, and formed in their enclosures the earliest art collections. The celebrated Jagiello Library was founded at Cracow in the fourteenth century.

In the sixteenth century Poland possessed numerous patrons of the arts who brought together in their magnificent mansions splendid collections of pictures and libraries. Leaving on one side the later Jagiello sovereigns, special mention should be made of Bishop Tomicki and the Chancellor Szydlowiecki. In the seventeenth century the number of collectors (Wolski, the Lubomirski, the Ossolinski, the Wisniowiecki) increased, but it was towards the middle of the eighteenth century that the passion for collecting reached its height. Nearly all the great noble families, the Radziwill, the Czartoryski, the Potocki and others formed libraries and picture galleries, and vied with each other in amassing armour, tapestries, bronzes, etc. This general interest in artistic treasures soon found significant expression. Pierre Paris, the painter of the Wisniowiecki family, toured the country in 1729 with several hundreds of pictures by great masters, and organised exhibitions at Lublin, Zamosc, Lwów and Warsaw.

However, few countries in the world have suffered more than Poland from wars and hostile invasions. Its artistic treasures have been pillaged, and to a great extent destroyed or confiscated by the governments of the Partitioning Powers. Otherwise the national collections, both in number and in quality, would be on a level with those of the

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Western countries. Yet such treasures as have escaped these depredations, and those which the Poles have succeeded in gathering together since without any State help, bear powerful witness to their love of the beautiful and their interest in all manifestations of intellectual and artistic life.

In addition to treasures of inestimable value for the study of history and civilisation in Poland, her museums, galleries, public and private collections, possess many masterpieces by artists ancient and modern—Italian, French, Flemish—such as Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Botticelli, Titian, Veronese, Clouet, Boucher, Greuze, Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, etc. (Many canvases by Rembrandt and others have been transported to the Hermitage at Petrograd; the beautiful Gatchina tapestries after cartoons by Raphael are also of Polish origin). The valuable collections of early printed books, stamps, coins, primitive Christian, Etruscan and Italian glass, fine tapestries, Persian carpets, ancient jewellery, arms and armour all of the first order, are worthy of the admiration of the most fastidious connoisseurs. It is impossible for us to name in this summary all the museums and galleries of importance in Poland. We must content ourselves with the most famous ones.¹

RUSSIAN POLAND

The Zaluski Library, founded by a bishop of that name, was transported in 1795, after the third Partition of Poland, from Warsaw to Petrograd, where it became the nucleus of the Imperial Royal Public Library. It contains 300,000 volumes.

After 1831 the Russian Government removed from the Royal Polish residences 165 masterpieces of painting; the fine black and white collection of King Stanislaus Augustus (110,000 examples), the numismatic collection (6,900 speci-

¹ Besides the museums, of which a certain number (about 30) are affiliated in a "Union of Museums," permanent exhibitions have been organized at Cracow, Warsaw, Lwów and Poznan, and temporary exhibitions in certain provincial towns. Societies for the encouragement of the fine arts have been founded (that at Warsaw in 1860) and exercise a beneficent influence on the artistic life of the country.

mens), and from the Warsaw Public Library 100,000 printed books and 1,500 manuscripts. There were also confiscated the libraries and scientific collections of the University of Wilno (60,000 volumes), and of the Society of Friends of Science at Warsaw; the collections of the University of Krzemieniec in Wolhynia, those of numerous Roman Catholic monasteries and convents, also the splendid art collections of the Princes Czartoryski at Pulawy, of the Princes Sapieha at Dereczyn, of the Tyszkiewicz family, and many others. These confiscations increased after the events of 1864. Among other treasures the rich archæological museum at Wilno was confiscated to the benefit of Russian institutions. These different confiscations served to build up the libraries at the Russian universities of Kiev and Kharkow, and the museum of the Imperial Academy of Arts at Petrograd among others.

KINGDOM OF POLAND

WARSAW. The libraries and collections at the Polish University, which was abolished by the Russian Government in 1831, and also those of the school for Higher Studies at Warsaw (Szkola Główna) which replaced the University, and was suppressed in its turn in 1869, now form the library of the Russian University of Warsaw (576,000 volumes, 11,000 maps and manuscripts, etc.).

The Central Archives. Libraries: The Krasinski Library; 130,000 volumes, 10,000 manuscripts, maps, etc.; the Zamoyski Library at the Blue Palace (a very fine collection); the Public Library, founded by a private society, 60,000 volumes; the Medical Association Library, 30,000 volumes, etc.

Libraries and collections formed by the Science Association and other societies at Warsaw, archives and libraries of Count Przezdziecki and M. Perłowski; industrial and art museums, the municipal museum; the Strzalecki and Smolikowski collections and libraries.

In the provinces: the Castle of Willanow, formerly the residence of King Jan III Sobieski (now the property of Count Branicki), possesses a library, besides many precious

works of art, ancient furniture, articles of vertu, and historical relics.

Jablonna, formerly the residence of Prince Joseph Poniatowski now in the possession of Count Potocki, has a library, works of art, and historical relics.

Chrobrze, property of the Marquis Wielopolski, art collections; Sterdyn, property of Count Krasinski, important archives; Nalenczow : M. Lasocki's library. There are interesting libraries and museums at Plock, Lublin, Kalisz, Sandomir, Kielce, Lowicz, etc.

LITHUANIA AND RUTHENIA

WILNO. The City Library and Museum containing 220,000 volumes, 12,000 *objets d'arts*, 10,000 manuscripts. The Wróblewski Public Library: 65,000 volumes, 3,000 engravings, 1,000 maps. The collections of the Polish Science Society, the Fine Arts Museum, the City Archives.

THE PROVINCES. In spite of political vicissitudes, and confiscations, there are still to be found in Lithuania and Ruthenia in the residences of Polish families, rich archives, picture-galleries, collections of arms and armour, tapestries and historical relics, *e.g.* Landwarow and Czerwony Dwor, the seats of Count Tyszkiewicz, in the Government of Wilno; Nieswiecz (Prince Radziwill, Government of Minsk), Kraslaw and Pustynia (Count Broel-Plater, Government of Witebsk), Slavuta (Prince Sanguszko, Wolhynia), Rowno (Prince Lubomirski), Luck (Prince Radziwill), Labun (M. Jelowicki), Romanow (Count Stecki), Mlynow (Count Chodkiewicz, Wolhynia), Peczara and Antoniny (Count Potocki, Podolia), Malejowce (Count Orłowski), Zahince, Mizocz (M. Karwiecki), etc.

Town Museums at Kowno, Minsk, etc.

AUSTRIAN POLAND

GALICIA

CRACOW. The Jagiello Library founded in the fourteenth century is one of the most valuable and important libraries in Europe:—450,000 volumes, 2,870 early printed books,

good manuscripts (dating from the twelfth century), numismatic collections. The Art and Archæology collections (10,000 specimens) at the University.

Library of the Academy of Science:—60,000 volumes, 2,000 manuscripts, 5,000 numismatic specimens; natural history, ethnography and archæology collections; the libraries of the Jesuit Fathers and of M. Puslowski, the rich city archives, the Popiel archives, etc.

Czartoryski Museum. Gallery of primitive Italian and other masters (Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Rembrandt), etc.; collections, ancient, mediæval and modern, rare armour, coins, Renaissance pottery and glass. The library contains 110,000 volumes, 5,000 codices, 5,600 manuscripts, specimens of early printing, 20,000 engravings.

National Museum. Fine gallery of Polish painting and sculpture, and of old and modern masters; 30,000 books, archæological and ethnographical collections, etc. The Hutten Czapski Museum: numismatic collection, 20,000 specimens; 50,000 stamps. Collection of Oriental and European porcelain.

Museums. Industrial and Ethnographical. The Matejko Museum (works of Matejko); the Jasienski collection of contemporary Polish painting and Japanese art; the Potocki gallery and archives at the Palace known as the "Barany," etc.

Lwow. The Ossolinski Museum, consisting of a gallery of painting and sculpture, 21,000 numismatic specimens, 28,000 stamps, library of 142,000 books and 5,000 manuscripts.

The Dzieduszycki Museum, containing collections relating to physiography, ethnography and natural history (110,000 specimens). This museum is famed for its collection of animal fossils.

University Library (233,000 volumes), the Baworowski and Pawlikowski libraries and art collections (20,000 volumes, 5,500 engravings after Polish painters, etc.); the Dzieduszycki collection (50,000 books, picture gallery), the Czarnecki collection, etc., the provincial archives of Galicia.

The City Gallery. Ancient and modern pictures, the historical Sobieski Museum, and the Industrial Museum. The Leo Pininski collection consists of an important gallery

of ancient and modern painting. The Lozinski collection : paintings, armour, pottery and sculpture.

THE PROVINCES. The towns of Przemyśl, Tarnopol, Tarnow (Diocesan Museum : Polish painting of the fifteenth—sixteenth century), Chyrow, Zakopane, Nowy-Soncz, Cieszyn and Bobrek all possess very interesting museums.

In addition to the valuable treasures to be found in churches and convent libraries, there are numerous collections, sometimes very rich, in the mansions of the nobility in Galicia. Mention must be made of Podhorce (Prince Sanguszko), Dzikow (Count Tarnowski), Sucha (Count Branicki), Przecław (Count Rey), Czerwonogrod and Przeworsk (Princes Lubomirski), Sieniawka (Prince Czartoryski), Lancut (Count Potocki), French and Flemish masters, Titian; unique collection of Korzec porcelain, Rozdol (Count Lanckoronski, remarkable gallery : one of the finest collections of artistic photography in Europe, 70,000 specimens), Grzymalow, Horyniec (Prince Poninski, valuable library of 50,000 volumes), Borynicze (Count F. Mycielski), Przyłbice (Count Szeptycki), Magiera (Count Sieminski, Polish historical paintings), Medyka (Pawlikowski collection), Okno (Cienski), Zawada (Count Raczyński), Dukla (Mencinski), Lisko (Count Krasicki), Baranow (Dolanski), Krasieczyn (Prince Sapieha), Krzeszowice (Count Potocki), Poturzyca (Count Dzieduszycki), etc.

PRUSSIAN POLAND

POZNAN (Posen). The magnificent libraries, collections, and picture galleries of old and modern masters of the Raczyński family are now the property of the Prussian Government. The celebrated Botticelli Madonna at Berlin came from this gallery. The Society of the Friends of Science possesses 140,000 books, important art collections (an art gallery with examples of Van Dyck, Van Eyck, Murillo, etc., and valuable pottery), also archæological, ethnographical, numismatic and natural history collections, bequeathed in part by Count Mielzynski.

Archdiocesan Museum. Religious art, Polish and foreign Archives. The Great Seminary Library with many thousands of volumes : Town and State Archives.

THE PROVINCES. Castle Goluchow near Kalisz (Prince Czartoryski), museum containing library, valuable art collections (wooden statue of S. John Baptist attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, glass, ancient vases), Castle Rogalin (Count Raczynski), one of the finest private galleries in Europe: canvases by old and modern masters (Rembrandt's Christ).

Castle of Kornik (formerly the property of the family of Dzialynski, now in the possession of W. Zamoyski), 80,000 volumes, rare manuscripts (*Acta Tomiciana*), important collection of armour, gallery of historical portraits.

Libraries of the Chapter and Great Seminary at Gniezno. Priceless collection of the most ancient Polish manuscripts, of early printed books and rare editions. Archives of importance.

Museum and library of the Scientific Society at Torun (Thorn), remarkable prehistoric collection. Museum at Sopoty (Zoppot), works and relics connected with the history and ethnography of the Cachoubes (Poles of Pomerelia).

Castles and country houses at Miloslaw, Czerniejevo, Rusko, Pawlowice, Niezychow, Goscieszyn, and elsewhere, also possess libraries and collections of importance.

OUTSIDE POLAND

The Polish Museum and Library founded by Count Plater at Rapperswil (Switzerland) is devoted to the history of Poland's struggles for independence, and contains 70,000 books, 24,000 manuscripts, 23,000 drawings, 6,900 numismatic specimens: 2,800 pictures and sculpture of various kinds. The Polish Library and Adam Mickiewicz Museum at Paris (6 Quai d'Orleans) contains 100,000 volumes, a collection of stamps, vertu, and relics.

The Hotel Lambert, Paris (residence of the Princes Czartoryski) contains a valuable and interesting collection of works of art.

Count N. Potocki has fine collections in his mansion at Paris, as well as at Rambouillet.

Count Lanckoronski has a veritable museum of ancient and modern works of art in his residence at Vienna.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOURIST RESORTS AND WATERING PLACES

TOURIST RESORTS

GALICIA, Austrian Silesia, Orawa, Spitz and Cachoubia have many attractions for tourists. The snow, lasting for many months in the mountains, provides opportunities for winter sports. Excellent tracts for bobsleighs have been made at Zakopane (3 km.), at Slawsko (Bieszczades), where the starting point is situated 1,180 metres above sea level; at Biala at 600, 1,000 and 1,245 metres above sea level. Some years ago an international ski competition took place at Zakopane.

The principal tourist centres are controlled by the Tatra Society, which organises excursions and sports. Among the most important centres are Zakopane, Biala, Zywiec, Jelesnia, Zawoja, Skole, Jarenicze, Tartarow, Worochta. Well equipped inns have been built in the neighbourhood of Zakopane, of Morskie Oko, at Magora and Babia Gora.

Among the different spurs of the Carpathians the Tatra is distinguished by its marvellous situation, its excursions and its ascents, some of which present great difficulties. Zakopane is the centre of this tourist activity. The wild Gorganes can be attempted only by experienced climbers. On the other hand, the western Beskides, with Babia Gora, and the eastern mountains, the Bieszczades, the Pienines, and the Czarnohora, are easy to climb even by people who have not had much experience in mountaineering. The Tatra mountains are as beautiful as any in Switzerland or the Tyrol as regards their fantastic cliffs, their strange indentations, their lakes (situated at a height of 1,000 to 1,700 metres), their deep valleys, their cascades, their tumultuous rivers plunging into whirlpools, or bounding over rocks. The Tatra mountains lack glaciers certainly, but in other respects their grand scenery can compare with that of any of the most famous mountain ranges.

In the Holy Cross Mountains which adjoin the steep

bank of the Vistula in the department of Kielce (Kingdom of Poland) there are a series of beautiful spots. Ojcow, in the district of Olkusz, and the Valley of the Prondnik, also attract crowds of visitors. The lakes which adorn the immense wooded plains of Lithuania and White Russia are also beautiful in a grand and austere style. The valleys of the Wilia and the Niemen, the country round Novogrodek, the shores of Lake Switez, the country of the great poet, Mickiewicz, have been immortalised by many a poet.

There should also be mentioned the region of the Mazurian lakes in East Prussia, the greater part of the population of which is Polish. The southern districts of Polish Pomerelia to the west of Gdansk (Danzig), which to-day forms part of West Prussia, deserves its title of the Cachoubian Switzerland. Poznanian "Switzerland," with its mountainous and picturesque scenery, is no less attractive. The country round Jarocin and Pleszewo, in the Grand Duchy of Poznan, and in the region of Pszczyna, in Prussian Silesia (in the Regency of Opole), is very beautiful.

Besides these natural beauties the tourist who travels through the territories of the ancient Republic of Poland finds old towns and villages, the ancient and curious buildings in which witness to the greatness of the country's past and the vitality of its present.

WATERING PLACES

Poland possesses a number of watering places, many of which owing to the therapeutic value of the waters equal or even surpass the most famous European spas. The greater part of them are in Galicia, the Kingdom of Poland and Silesia, in mountainous country which provides opportunities for very interesting excursions.

SALINE SPRINGS. In the *Kingdom of Poland*: Ciecho-cinek (saline—iodine—bromide waters, government of Warsaw). In *Lithuania*: Birsztany (near Kowno), Druskieniki (near Grodno). In *Galicia*: Rabka (altitude 540 metres), waters: saline—iodine—bromide, frequented annually by 7,000 visitors; Rymanow, alkaline—iodine—bromide (Sanok district; nearly 3,000 patients). In *Poznania*: Inowroclaw (Hohensalza). In *Silesia*: Goczał-

kowice (saline—iodine—bromide, near Dziedzice), Jastrzomb (Königsdorf).

ALKALINE SPRINGS. In *Galicia*: Kroscienko (in the Pienines), Szcsawnica (altitude, 500 metres, alkaline and iron; 3,000 patients, district of Nowy Targ), Morszyn (bitter alkaline).

IRON SPRINGS. *Kingdom of Poland*: Nalenczow (government of Lublin), Slawinek (near Lublin). *Galicia*: Iwonicz (400 to 600 metres above sea level; saline—iodine—iron; 6,000 patients; district of Krosno), Krynica (586 metres; 12,000 patients, district of Nowy-Sonecz), Zegiestow (486 metres; district of Nowy-Sonecz), Wysowa (Gorlice).

SULPHUR SPRINGS. *Kingdom of Poland*: Busk (saline—calcareous, containing iodine and Glauber salt, government of Kielce), Solec (government of Kielce). *Galicia*: Lubien Wielki (altitude, 300 metres; 3,000 patients; district of Grodek), Pustomyty (near Lwów), Swoszowice (near Cracow), Truskowiec (4,000 patients; district of Drohobycz).

HEALTH RESORTS

Kingdom of Poland: Ciechocinek, Grodzisk, Otwock (government of Warsaw), Nalenczow (government of Lublin), Ojcow, Pieskowa-Skala (government of Kielce, not far from Cracow).

South-West Ruthenia: Slawuta (government of Wolhynia), Kamionka (government of Podolia).

Galicia: Kossow (near Kolomyja), Zakopane (in the heart of the Tatra mountains, 1,000 metres above sea level; winter and summer resort, thermal springs, about 30,000 tourists annually), Zawoja (at the base of the Babia Gora), Bystra (370 metres above sea level, in the neighbourhood of Zywiec, Worochtia, Jaremcze, Tartarow).

Austrian Silesia: Jaworze (Ernsdorf, near Bielsko), Wisla, etc.

SANATORIA FOR CONSUMPTION

Kingdom of Poland: Rudka, Otwock. *Galicia*: Zakopane, Bystra.

SEA BATHS

Lithuania: Polonga (in what is now Courland). *West Prussia*: Sopoty (in what was ancient Pomerelia, near Gdansk (Danzig)).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Sixth to ninth century. Legendary Period.
(Lech and his predecessors, Wanda, the Popiels, etc.)

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| <p>9th century to 1370 Piast Dynasty.</p> <p>960-992 Mieszko (Miecislav I.)</p> <p>966 Conversion of Poland.</p> <p>968 Foundation of Bishopric of Poznan.</p> <p>981 The Poles lose the Przemyśl region and Red Chrobata (now Eastern Galicia).</p> <p>992-1025 Boleslaw I. (The Valiant).</p> <p>995 He conquers Pomerania (at this time Slav) from the Vistula to the Oder.</p> <p>1000 The foundation of the Archbishopric of Gniezno (Gnesen) liberates the Church in Poland from German ecclesiastical suzerainty.</p> <p>1002-1018 Wars with the German Empire.</p> | | <p>966 Conversion of Poland links her to western civilization</p> <p>10th century. First annals. First legal codes. First monastic and Cathedral schools.</p> <p>11th century. First mystery plays at Cracow. First music manuscripts.</p> |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| <p>1018 The Germans, by the Treaty of Budziszyn (Bautzen) cede to Poland the Slav provinces: Milsko, the two Luzyce (Lusatias), now in Saxony; Silesia and Lubusz, now in Brandenburg.</p> <p>1018 Recovery of Croatia (Red Ruthenia)</p> <p>1025 Boleslaw I. is crowned King.</p> <p>1025-1034 Mieszko II.</p> <p>1038-1058 Casimir the Restorer.</p> <p>1058-1079 Boleslaw II. (The Bold).</p> <p>1069 Taking of Kiev.</p> <p>1079-1102 Wladislaw I. (Ladislav), (Herman).</p> <p>1102-1138 Boleslaw III. (Wry Mouth).</p> <p>1102-1109 Reconquest of Pomerania (the present Pomerania) and part of West Prussia.</p> <p>1120-1121 Farthest expansion of Poland towards the West.</p> | <p>12th century. Salt and lead mining (salt mines of Wieliczka).</p> | <p>11th to 13th centuries Period of the Romanesque style, introduced into Poland by the Benedictines and Cistercians.</p> <p>12th century. Gallus, the first chronicler.</p> |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
|---|---|--|
| Annexation of the Slav territory of the Lutics (now Mecklenburg) and of the Island of Rugia (Rugen). | | |
| 1138-1295 Period of Grand Duchy of Cracow and its feudatory Duchies. | | |
| 1180 Congress of Lenczyca. First limitation of monarchical rule to the advantage of the clergy and the aristocracy. | | |
| 1182-1205 Wars against the Ruthenians. Poland establishes suzerainty over the Princes of Wolhynia and Red Ruthenia. | | |
| 1226 Introduction of the Teutonic Order into Prussia by Conrad, Duke of Mazovia. | <p>13th century. Extraction of iron ore.</p> <p>13th century. The Princes of Greater and Lesser Poland introduce German colonists.</p> <p>13th century. Organisation of Social classes.</p> | <p>1226 Gothic style appears in Poland (Abbey of Sulejow).</p> <p>1246 Benedict, a Polish monk, accompanies Plano Carpino to Asia, and describes the voyage.</p> |
| | 1264 The charter granted to the Jews by the Prince of Kalisz, Boleslaw the Pious, guarantees them domestic autonomy. | 13th century. Treatise on Optics by Vitello. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
|---|---|--|
| <p>1241 First invasion of Poland by the Mongols.</p> <p>1300-1305 Wacław I. of Bohemia, King of Poland.</p> <p>1306-1333 Ladislas I. (Wladislaw the Short).</p> <p>1309 The Teutonic Knights, taking advantage of their alliance with Poland treacherously take possession of Pomerania.</p> <p>1331 Victory over the Teutonic Knights at Płowce.</p> <p>1333-1370 Casimir the Great.</p> | <p>End of 13th century. Development of international trade on the great trade routes of Central and Southern Europe, by which Breslau, Cracow and Leopold profit.</p> <p>13th to 14th centuries. Towns in Poland obtain new charters and an autonomous organisation according to the Custom of Magdeburg.</p> <p>1334 Casimir the Great confirms the charters given to the Jews by Boleslaw the Pious, and extends them to the whole Kingdom.</p> | <p>1285 The clergy of Greater Poland remove foreigners from ecclesiastical benefices and exact a perfect knowledge of the Polish language from school-masters.</p> <p>1347-1349 First collection of laws. (Statute of Wislica-Piotzkow).</p> <p>1350 Casimir the Great, a great builder of towns, boroughs, and cathedrals, builds the Cathedral of Leopold.</p> |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1335 By the Treaty of Wyszehrad, Casimir the Great cedes the suzerainty over Polish Silesia to the King of Bohemia. | | |
| 1340 Incorporation of Red Ruthenia with Poland. | | 1364 Foundation of the University of Cracow. |
| 1370-1382 Louls of Anjou, King of Hungary and Poland | | 14th century. The most ancient examples of stained glass and frescoes date from this period. |
| 1374 Pact of Koszyce (Kaschan,) limitation of the power of the monarchy to the advantage of the nobility. | 1374 Pact of Koszyce suppresses all the ancient taxes paid to the King by the nobility, and preserves only a very small land-tax as the sole ordinary tax. | 14th century. Reconstruction of the Royal Palace on the Wawel Hill at Cracow. Foundation of the Jagiello Library. |
| 1384-1386 Hedwig of Anjou. (Jadwiga) Queen of Poland (d. 1399). | | |
| 1386-1572 The Jagiello Dynasty. | | |
| 1386-1434 Ladislas II. (Jagiello). | | |
| 1386 Dynastic Union with Lithuania. | | |
| 1387 Conversion of Lithuania. | | |
| 1405 The Act of Union of Wilno-Radom between Poland and Lithuania. | | 1400 Re-organisation of the University of Cracow after the Statutes of the Sorbonne. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1410 Defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald—Tannenburg. | | 1410 Institution of the Guild of Pain- ters at Cracow. |
| 1413 By the Union of Horodlo certain privileges of the Polish nobility are granted to the Lithuanian nobility. | | 1414-1418 University of Cracow, like the Sorbonne, sends representatives to Council of Constance. They protest against the imprisonment of Huss, the Czech reformer. |
| 1422 Charter of Czerwinski extending the rights of the nobles and proclaiming personal inviolability: <i>Neminem captivabimus. Nemini bona confiscabimus.</i> | 1422 The magnates are permitted to purchase the office of Hereditary Bailiff (Soltys) in their villages and thus menace the independence of the rural communes. | 1431-1448 Representatives of the University of Cracow at the Council of Basle. |
| 1432 Poland grants the Ruthenians equality before the law. | | |
| 1434-1444 Ladislas III. | | |
| 1440 His election to the throne of Hungary. | | 15th century. First Polish translation of the Bible. |
| 1441 The Ruthenian Church put on a footing of equality before the law with the Roman Catholic Church. | | 1415-1480 Dlugosz (Longinus) historian of the Middle Ages. |
| 1444 Death of Ladislas III. at the battle of Varna against the Turks. | | 15th century. Humanism penetrates into Poland. 1435-1533 Wit Stwosz, Polish sculptor. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1447-1492 Casimir IV. (Jagiello). | | |
| 1454 The towns of Prussia under the domination of the Teutonic Knights beg to be joined to Poland. | | |
| 1454-1466 Wars with the Teutonic Knights | | 1473 Foundation of the Academy of Chelmno (Culm). |
| 1454 Statute of Nieszawa, the basis of the constitutional monarchy. | 1454 Navigation on the Vistula and its tributaries pro- claimed free. The Statutes of Nieszawa favour the interests of the nobility to the prejudice of the peasants and towns. | 1475 First books printed at Cracow. End of the 15th cen- tury. Foundation of the learned society Academia Vistul- ana at Cracow. |
| 1466 The Treaty of Torun (Thorn) re- stores West Prussia, Pomerelia and War- mia to Poland. | 1466 The restoration of the mouth of the Vistula with the port of Dantzic to Poland by the Treaty of Torun encourages the ex- portation of wheat. | |
| 1466-1657 Ducal Prussia (a part of the modern East Prussia) a fief of Poland. | | |
| 1476 Ladislas Jagiello elected King of Bohemia. | | |
| 1490 Ladislas Jagiello elected King of Hungary. | 1496-1520 The peas- ants on seigniorial estates lose their | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| | personal liberty, and are subjected to the personal jurisdiction of their lord. | |
| 1492-1501 Jan I. (Olbracht). | | |
| 1493 First Polish Diet. | | |
| 1499-1527 Wars against Muscovy. | | |
| 1501-1506 Alexander I. | 1496 The Diet forbids the Burghers to buy landed property. | 16th century Golden age of Polish civilization. |
| 1505 The law "Nihil Novi" confirms the preponderance of Parliament and the nobility over the royal power. | 16th century. New influx of Jews into Poland, in con- sequence of per- secution in the Western countries of Europe. | 1506 Codification of Polish Law (Statute of Laski). |
| 1506-1548 Zygmunt I. (Sigismund) the Old. | | 1512 Jan of Stobnica makes one of the first maps of America. |
| 1525 Albert I. of Brandenburg does homage to the King of Poland for Ducal Prussia which had been secularized. | 1520-1521 Statutes of Torun and Radom fix the corvées to the advantage of the land owners at one day a week for a "lan" (field). | 1518 Beginning of the reformation in Poland. |
| 1526 Louis Jagiello, King of Hungary and Bohemia, perishes at the Battle of Mohac against the Turks. | 1528 Monetary union decided at Grud- zionz between Poland, Lithuania, and Prussia. | 1518 Marriage of Zygmunt the Old to Bona Sforza. Triumph of Italian art in Poland. |
| | | 16th century. The Zygmunt Chapel at the Wawel Cath- edral and the Court of the Royal Palace at Cracow, two jewels of the Renaissance. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1529 Incorporation of the Vassal Duchy of Mazovia with the Polish Crown. | 1532 The serfs attached to the glebe. | 1473-1543 Nicolas Copernic (Copernicus), born at Torun (Thorn), died at Frauenburg. |
| 1548-1572 Zygmunt II. (Sigmund-Augustus). | 1565 The Diet of Piotrkow abolishes, in the interest of the land-owners, all hindrances to the exportation of raw material and the importation of industrial products; and forbids the exportation of the latter. | 1543 His work "De Revolutionibus" Orbium Coelestium" printed at Cracow. |
| 1552 Suppression of episcopal jurisdiction over the laity. | 1550-1650 Decay of continental transit trade and of central Polish towns—development of commerce on the Baltic and of the towns of Dantzig, Krolewiec (Königsberg) and Riga. | 1560 Death of Jan Laski, religious reformer. |
| 1561 Voluntary incorporation of Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia with Poland. | | 16th century. M. Gomolka, musician and composer. |
| 1565 Introduction of the Jesuit Order into Poland. | | 16th century. Martin of Olkusz advocates reform of the calendar. |
| 1569 Union of Lublin (definitive Union of Lithuania and Poland). | | 1570 Convention of Sandomir between the three Protestant denominations. |
| 1573-1795 Elective Kings | | 1503-1572 A. Frycz Modrzewski, Liberal thinker and social reformer. |
| 1573-1574 Henri de Valois, King of Poland. | | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
|---|---|---|
| 1573 Solemn act of political and religious toleration ("Confederation of Warsaw"). | 1580 Monetary reform under Stephen Batory. | 16th century. S. Budny first applies scientific criticism to the Sacred Scriptures. |
| 1575-1586 Stephen Batory. | | |
| 1578-1581 Elective High Courts of Justice, called "Of the Crown," introduced into Poland and Lithuania. | 16th to 17th century. Considerable alteration in prices and the value of silver; preponderance of monetary problems in the political economy of Poland. | 1578 Foundation of the University of Wilno. |
| 1577-1582 Wars with Muscovy. | | |
| 1587-1668 Vasa Dynasty | | 1530-1584 Jan Kochanowski the greatest poet of Independent Poland. |
| 1587-1668 Zygmunt III. (Sigismund Vasa). | | 1586 Introduction of the Gregorian Calendar into Poland. |
| 1595 Union at Brzesc of the Greek Catholic Church with the Roman Catholic Church in Poland. | | 1595 Foundation of University of Zamosc. |
| 1601-1629 Wars with Sweden. | 1607 The peasants who had been under the jurisdiction of the | 1615 Foundation of University of Kiev. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1606-1607 Rebellion of Zebrydowski. | Custom of Magde- burg pass definiti- vely under the juris- diction of the nobility. | |
| 1610-1613 Moscow under Polish rule. | 1609-1627 Sumptuary Laws directed against the burgher class. | |
| 1632-1648 Ladislas IV. | | |
| 1634 Peace of Polanow with Muscovy, the culminating point of Polish territorial expansion towards the East. | 1623 First General Tariff for the price of merchandise. | 17th century (beginn- ing). First regular theatre (Theatre Royal). First Polish Opera. |
| 1648 Rebellion of Bohdan Chmiel- nitzki, Chief of the Cossacks. | 1645 Maximum profit of Christian and Jewish merchants fixed by law. | 1595-1640 M. Sarbiewski, poet, crowned at the Capitol. |
| 1648-1668 Jan II. (John Casimir). | | |
| 1651 Defeat of the Cossacks at Beresteczko. | | |
| 1655-1667 Poland in- vaded by the Swedes, the Mus- covites, the Pruss- ians and the Hungarians. | 1655-1750 Decline of the Baltic trade of Poland after the Swedish wars. General depopula- tion of the country. | |
| 1655 Confederation of Patriots at Tyszowce against the Swedes. | | |
| 1657 Frederick William of Brandenburg ceases to be a feudatory of Poland. | | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1658 The Ukraine restored to Poland by the Convention of Hadiacz which gives it a federal position similar to that of Lithuania. | | |
| 1660 Peace of Oliwa. | | 1660 First Polish newspaper "The Polish Mercury." |
| 1667 Peace of Andruszow. Cession to Muscovy of the Provinces beyond the Dnieper. The Ukraine beyond the Dnieper passes under the denomination of Muscovy. | 1668 The towns send their delegates for the last time to the Diet. | 1661 Foundation of the University of Lwów (Leopolis). |
| 1669-1673 Michal Korybut Wisniowiecki. | | |
| 1673 Victory at Chocim over the Turks. | | |
| 1674-1696 Jan III. (Sobieski). | | |
| 1683 Deliverance of Vienna from the Turks by King Jan Sobieski. | | |
| 1686 Kiev ceded to Muscovy. | | |
| 1697-1704 Augustus II. of Saxony King of Poland, | | |
| 1704-1709 Stanislaw I. (Stanislaus) (Leszczynski). | | 17th century. A. Olizarowski, humanist, philosopher, one of the pioneers of modern democratic ideas. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1709-1733 Augustus II. restored to the throne. | | |
| 1717 Reduction of the army at the "Silent Diet" at the instigation of Russia. | | |
| 1732 Treaty of Berlin. Alliance of the three "Black Eagles" (Russia, Prussia, Austria) against Poland. | | 1729 First Exhibition of Fine Arts. 1740 Educational Reforms of A. Konarski. |
| 1735-1763 Augustus III. of Saxony. | | 1746 First public library founded at Warsaw by Bishop Zaluski. |
| 1764-1795 Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski. | 1764 The Diet abolishes the customs privileges of the Nobility and introduces general customs duties on importation and exportation. | 1753 Foundation of the astronomical Observatory at Wilno. |
| 1764 Partial Reform of the Government. | | |
| 1767 Seizure and deportation into Russia of Polish Bishops and Senators. | 1766 Important monetary reform. | Second half of the 18th century. Renaissance of letters, arts and sciences in Poland under the patronage of King Stanislaus Augustus. |
| 1768-1772 Confederation of Bar. Struggles for the Independence of Poland. | 1766 First cloth manufacturing company under the management of Andrzej Zamoyski. After this date, Tyzenhaus and others set up numerous factories. | 1765 First Public Polish Theatre. |
| 1772 First Partition of Poland. | 1775 Customs duties, established by Frederic II., on the Vistula in virtue of the Treaty with | 1768 Foundation at Leipzig by Prince Jablonowski of the "Societas Jablonoviana" for Slavonic studies. |
| 1772 Beginning of forced conversions to Orthodoxy of the | | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| <p>Uniate in the territories annexed by Russia.</p> <p>1773 Foundation of the "Commission of Education."</p> <p>1788-1792 Grand Diet.</p> <p>1791 Constitution of the 3rd of May, Reform of the government.</p> | <p>Poland, greatly hinder Polish Commerce.</p> <p>1776 Shareholding Company for the exploitation of the salt mines at Busk.</p> <p>1777 Peasants on Crown Estates are recognised as its tenants. About this time several Polish patriots abolish Corvées on their estates and enfranchise the peasants.</p> <p>1778-1785 Construction of the Royal Canal linking up the Vistula with the Dnieper.</p> <p>1784 The Black Sea Trade Company under the management of Prot. Potocki.</p> <p>1784 Incorporation of Galicia in the Customs Union of Austria.</p> <p>1788 Oginski constructs the Canal called after his name between the Szczara and the Jasiolda.</p> <p>1789 Democratic financial reforms.</p> | <p>1733-1796 A. Naruszewicz, historian.</p> <p>1773-1794 Commission of Education. The first Ministry of Public Education in Europe.</p> <p>End of the 18th century. Efflorescence of Slavonic studies in Poland.</p> |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| <p>Liberties granted to the burghers and peasants.</p> <p>Suppression of the "Liberum Veto," and of the elective system of monarchy.</p> | <p>End of the 18th century. Coal mining begins in the Polono-Silesian basin.</p> | |
| <p>1792 War with Russia.</p> | | |
| <p>1793 Second Partition.</p> | <p>1791 Constitution of the 3rd May. Restitution to the burgher class of political rights and amelioration of the condition of the peasantry.</p> | |
| <p>1794 Insurrection of Kosciusko.</p> | | |
| <p>1795 Third Partition.</p> | <p>1794 T. Kosciuszko, leader of the insurrection, by the Manifesto of Polaniec, abolishes the Corvée for all peasants who take part in the insurrection. He fixes the maximum Corvée for others at two days a week.</p> | |
| <p>1794 The Zaluski Library, 300,000 vols., transported to Petersburg.</p> | | |
| <p>1797-1803 Polish Legions in Napoleon's Armies. Campaigns of Dombrowski and Kniaziewicz in Italy and Germany and of Jablonowski in San Domingo.</p> | | <p>1797 Wybicki composes the national anthem "Poland is not dead."</p> <p>1798 Foundation of the Czartoryski museum and library at Pulawy.</p> |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| | | 1800 The Society of the Friends of Science (The Academy) founded at Warsaw. |
| 1806 Rising against Prussia. | 1807 Abolition of serfdom in the Duchy of Warsaw. | 1804-1830 Flourishing development of the University of Wilno. |
| 1807 Peace of Tilsit. Foundation of the Duchy of Warsaw and promulgation of its Constitution. | 1811 Abolition of the Corvée in the Polish Provinces of Prussia (East Prussia, West Prussia, Silesia). | 1805 Foundation of the College (School for Higher Education) at Krzemieniec (Wolhynia) |
| | 1815 The Congress of Vienna guarantees freedom of commercial exchange and navigation in the territories of Poland as she existed before the first Partition of 1772. | 1808 Compulsory education introduced in the Duchy of Warsaw. |
| 1807-1815 Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, Duke of Warsaw. | | |
| 1808 Exploits of the Polish Legions in Spain (Somo, Sierra and Saragossa). | | |
| 1809 War of the Duchy of Warsaw against Austria: Conquest of Galicia. | | |
| 1812 The Duchy furnishes Napoleon with an army of 80,000 men. | 1816-1823 The Government of the Kingdom of Poland (1815) encourages immigra- | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1813 Prince J. Poniatowski who has been made a Marshal of France, killed at the Battle of Leipzig. | tion of foreign manufacturers and artisans and accords them many privileges. | |
| 1815 Congress of Vienna. Creation of the Kingdom of Poland (the "Congress" Kingdom), of the Grand Duchy of Poznań and of the Free Republic of Cracow. | 1817 Opening of the Warsaw Stock Exchange. | 1815 Staszic's Geological and hydrographic map of Poland. 1816-1831 University of Warsaw. 1816 Foundation of the Cracow Scientific Association. 1817-1871 Germanisation of the University of Lwów (Leopolis). |
| 1815 Promulgation of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland. | 1818 New law of mortgage passed by the Diet. | 1818 First Polish historical novel by Niemcewicz. |
| 1817 Reconstitution of the Diet in Galicia. | 1819 Polish landowners in Lithuania petition the Russian Government for the emancipation of the peasants. | |
| 1823 Measures of repression against University students in Lithuania. | 1821 Foundation of the Land Credit Association in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. | 1818-1863 Romanticism in Poland. |
| | 1823 Abolition of the Corvée in the Grand Duchy of Poznań. | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1827 First Provincial Diet in Poznań. | 1823 Completion of the Berezov Canal connecting the Dnieper with the Dwina. 1824-1839 The construction of the Augustow Canal joining the Vistula to the Niemen. | 1826-1831 First Polytechnic at Warsaw. |
| 1828 Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, crowned King of Poland at Warsaw. | 1825 Land Credit Association founded in the Kingdom of Poland. | 1886-1861 Lelewel, pioneer of the democratic historical school. |
| 1830-31 National Insurrection in Russian Poland. | 1831 The Russian Government fixes high tariffs on goods entering the Kingdom of Poland from the Russian Empire. | 1832 Polish literary society and Polish democratic society started at Paris. 1793-1855 Adam Mickiewicz the national poet. |
| 1831 Beginning of a policy of Germanization in the Grand Duchy of Poznań under President Flotwell. | 1835 Creation of Russian Commissioners for entailed estates, the granting of leases to Poles being prohibited. | 1834 "Pan Thaddeus," national epic, Mickiewicz's principal work. |
| 1832 Abrogation of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland. Russian administrative régime. Political repression in Poland, Lithuania, and Ruthenia. | | 1809-1849 J. Slowacki, poet, dramatist and reformer of the language of Polish literature. |
| | | 1812-1869 Z. Krasiński, poet and thinker. Interpreter of the tragedy of modern social conditions. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| | | 1793-1876 A. Fredro, father of the Polish theatre. |
| | | 1812-1887 J. I. Kras- zewski, novelist. |
| 1833 The Meeting at Münchengratz. The three monarchs of the co-partitioning states decide on measures against Polish agitation. | | |
| 1832-1856 Oppression of Russian Poland under the Lieu- tenant-General, Prince Paskiewicz. | 1841 Foundation of the Land Credit Association in Galicia. | 1841 The Marcinkowski Society (Poznan) founded to sub- sidize scientific research. |
| 1833 In Prussian Po- land the Poles are banished from the administration. | 1843-45 The Great Polish landowners in Galicia petition the Austrian Government for the regulation of the agrarian question and for the aboli- tion of the Corvée. | 1844 Polytechnic opened at Lwów. |
| | | 1797 - 1858 } Found- (J. Golu- ders of chowski), the 1808 Polish 1869 (B. School Trentow- of ski), Rom- 1814 antic 1894 A. Philo- Ciesz- sophy. kowski } |
| 1839 Suppression of the Uniat Church in Lithuania and Ruthenia. | | 1810-1849 Chopin, the great musician, the first promoter of nationalism in music. |
| 1840 Abrogation of the Statute of Lithuania. | 1844 First Polish Savings Banks at Lwów (Leopolis). | 1819-1872 Moniuszko, composer. |
| 1841 The Council of State abolished in the Kingdom. | 1845 Agricultural As- sociations started at Lwów and Cracow. | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1847 The Russian penal code introduced into the Kingdom. | 1846 Improvement in the condition of the peasant in the Kingdom of Poland owing to the law prohibiting the increase of the Corvée, etc. | |
| 1846 Insurrection at Cracow. | 1848 Suppression of the Corvée in Galicia. | |
| 1846 Massacres of the nobility in Galicia. Austria annexes the Republic of Cracow. | 1848 Opening of the first railway in the Kingdom of Poland—the Warsaw-Vienna line. | |
| 1848 Insurrection in Poznań. Barricades at Leopold and Cracow. | 1850 Abolition of the customs frontier between the Kingdom of Poland and the Russian Empire, properly so called. | |
| 1849-1849 Participation of the Polish legions in the struggle for the liberties of nations (Italy-Hungary-Germany). | | |
| 1849 Constituent federal assembly of Kromieryz (Kremisier. Austria) under the Presidency of Smolka (a Pole.) | | |
| 1850 Assimilation of Poznań to the other provinces of Prussia. Recrudescence of Germanization in Prussian Poland. | | 1853 Society of Friends of the Fine Arts founded at Cracow. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1854 Crimean War. Polish legions in the Allied Armies (France, England, Italy). | 1855 Cracow joined up to Vienna by rail. | 1857 The Science Association (Academy) of Poznan. |
| 1859 First liberal concessions to Poles in Austria. | 1857 Foundation of the Agricultural Society of the Kingdom of Poland. | 1857 The Surgical and Medical Association of Warsaw. |
| 1860 First Constitutional Charter (known as the "October Charter") in Austria. Autonomy in Galicia. Count A. Goluchowski (a Pole), President of the Council of Ministers in Austria. | 1861 Cracow Mutual Assurance Society. | 1859 First Institute of Polish music at Warsaw. |
| | 1861 Central Agricultural Association at Poznan. | 1857-1867 A. Grottger, painter of the martyrology of Poland. |
| | 1861 First Polish Credit Co-operative in Prussian Poland. | |
| | 1861 The Agricultural Society of the Kingdom decides on the substitution of quit-rents for Corvées. The Government dissolves the Society. | |
| | 1862 The autonomous Government proclaims the equality of Jews before the law in the Kingdom | |
| 1860-1863 Local Government Reforms in the Kingdom (Marquis Wielopolski). | 1863 The Insurrectionary Polish Government proclaims the endowment of the peasants with land. | 1862-1869 Re-opening of the Polish University at Warsaw (School for Higher Studies.) |
| 1861 The first freely elected Galician Diet. | 1864 Agrarian reform in the Kingdom. | |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1863-1865 Insurrection in Russian Poland. Ineffective intervention of France and England. | | 1835-1883 Szujski, leader of the important historical school known as the "Cracow" school. |
| 1863 Military convention between Russia and Prussia against Poland. | 1865 Confiscation of numerous Polish properties in the Kingdom, Lithuania and Ruthenia. | 1865 to the end of the 19th century. Positivism. |
| 1864 Political and religious repression in Lithuania and Ruthenia. Teaching of Polish banished from the schools. | 1866 First Polish Agricultural Club founded in Poznań. | |
| 1865 Poles forbidden to purchase land in Lithuania or Ruthenia. Polish landowners are crippled by taxation (until 1895). | 1867 The finance of the Kingdom of Poland ceases to be independent of that of Russia. | |
| 1867 The Polish Administration of the Kingdom is suppressed. | 1867 Mortgage Bank founded in Galicia. | |
| 1866 Address of the Galician Diet to the sovereign. | 1870 First co-operative societies of consumption started in the Kingdom and Galicia. | |
| 1866-1869 The Poles and the Ruthenes of Galicia obtain national liberties. | 1870 Foundation of the Bank of Commerce at Warsaw, and in successive years other private joint-stock banks at Warsaw and Łódź. | |
| 1867 Instruction in Polish re-established in schools in Galicia. | 1870 First Bank for industrial loans (Co-operative) in the Kingdom. | 1870 Polish Scientific Society founded at Paris by Count Działyński. |

| Political Life | Economic and Social Life | Intellectual Life |
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| 1869 Polish made the official language of Galicia. | 1870 Urban Credit Society of Warsaw. | 1873 Academy of Fine Arts at Cracow. |
| 1869-1872 Russification of all education in the Kingdom. | 1871 Union of the Co-operative Societies of Poznan and East Prussia. | 1838-1893 J. Matejko, founder of the historical school of painting. |
| 1873-1874 Germanization of private and secondary education in Prussian Poland. | 1872 Associations for mutual credit and small credit in the Kingdom. | |
| 1873 Commencement of the Kultur Kampf in Poland. Imprisonment of Cardinal Ledochowski. | 1873 Polish Peasants Bank of Poznan. | 1873 The Scientific Association of Cracow transformed into the Academy of Sciences. |
| 1874 Suppression of the last Greek Uniat Diocese of Chelm, in the Kingdom of Poland. Forced conversion of the Uniats to Orthodoxy. | 1870-1880 Transatlantic emigration from Poland increases in Prussian Poland, and in the following decades in Galicia and in the Kingdom. | 1876 Science Association (Academy) founded at Torun (Thorn). |
| | 1877 The agricultural industrial exhibition at Lwów witnesses to the economic development of Galicia. | 1879 Jubilee of the author Kraszewski celebrated at Cracow. |
| 1875 Suppression of the Lieutenant-Generalship in the Kingdom | 1877 Introduction of Protection for Russian industry. Beginning of the rapid development of industry in the Kingdom of Poland. | 1879 Foundation of the National Museum at Cracow. |
| 1876 Russification of the judicature in the Kingdom. Introduction of Russian procedure. | 1879-1885 Agrarian protection of an increasingly pronounced character reverted to in Ger- | |
| 1876 German becomes the sole language in the administra- | | |

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| <p>tion and in the law-courts in Prussian Poland.</p> <p>1883 Polish is definitively banished from all schools in Prussian Poland, and replaced by German.</p> <p>1883-1896 Russification carried to the extreme limit in the Kingdom of Poland; Gourko, Governor-General; the Curator, Apushtin.</p> <p>1884, 1891, 1899, 1901 Restrictions of the right of Poles to buy or cultivate land in Lithuania or Ruthenia.</p> <p>1885 Polish subjects of Russia and Austria banished <i>en masse</i> from Prussian Poland.</p> <p>1885 Russification of Primary Education in the Kingdom.</p> <p>1886 Bismarck establishes the "Com-</p> | <p>many. Rapid development of agriculture in the Polish provinces of Prussia.</p> <p>1882 Association of peasants' agricultural circles in Galicia.</p> <p>1882 First strike in the Kingdom of Poland.</p> <p>1883 The National Bank established in Galicia.</p> <p>1883 Permanent commission for the encouragement of industry established by the Diet of Galicia.</p> <p>1883-1903 Fall in the price of cereals and wool: agrarian crisis.</p> <p>1885 The Bank of Poland suppressed by the Russian Government and made a section of the State Bank.</p> <p>1886 Society for the encouragement of</p> | <p>1881 Establishment of the Mianowski Fund for subsidising scientific work at Warsaw.</p> <p>1883 Liquefaction of permanent gases (Olszewski - Wroblewski).</p> <p>1883 The "Trilogy" of Sienkiewicz.</p> <p>1890 The ashes of Mickiewicz are</p> |

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| mission of Colonization" for the purchase of Polish land. | industry and trade at Warsaw. | translated with great solemnity from Paris to the Cathedral of the Wawel at Cracow. |
| 1894 The Ostmarkenverein, a powerful anti-Polish society, founded in Prussia. | 1886 The Commission of Colonization in Poznań and W. Prussia begins a systematic struggle to wrest land from Poles and give it to Germans. | 1891 Foundation of the Popular Schools Society in Galicia. |
| 1897 Collection of 2½ millions of francs raised in the Kingdom and offered to Nicholas II. on his accession. The Emperor gives this sum for the foundation of a Polytechnic at Warsaw. | 1888 The Polish Land Bank at Poznań, a reply to the Commission of Colonization. | 1869-1907 S. Wyspiański, painter, poet, leader of "Young Poland." |
| 1898 The Prime Minister Badeni (a Pole) introduces the universal suffrage Curia for elections to the Austrian Parliament. | 1891 First secret workmen's syndicates in the Kingdom of Poland. | 1898 Discovery of radium by Madame Curie - Skłodowska (a Pole) and P. Curie. |
| 1898 The funds for colonization in Prussian Poland are increased by 200 million marks. | 1891-1894 Change in the commercial policy of Russia. Protection of raw materials and State regulation of railway tariffs. | 1898 Statue of Mickiewicz erected by national subscription (50,000 francs) unveiled at Warsaw. |
| 1901 Process of Wreschen (Wrzesnia) in Poznań. Polish children persecuted. | 1899 Committee of patronage of the Raffeisen Societies appointed by the Galician Diet. Period of the rapid development of these societies. | |
| | 1901 Union of Galician industry. | |
| | 1901-1912 Laws passed for the construction of canals in Galicia. They are not carried out with vigour. | |

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| 1902 Funds for the Colonization of Prussian Poland increased by 50 millions. | 1904 Industrial Assistance League in Galicia. | 1905 School strike in the Kingdom of Poland. |
| 1904 Law of Settlement in Prussia imposes grave restrictions on the Poles. | 1905-1906 Political and economic strikes by workmen in the Kingdom of Poland. | 1906 Establishment of private science courses at Warsaw by the private "Popular University." |
| 1905 Constitutional Rights in Russia are extended to the Kingdom of Poland: Religious toleration, private Polish schools, right of association and public meeting, abolition of the preventive Censorship. | 1905 Active development of co-operative societies of credit and consumption and also of agricultural circles in the Kingdom of Poland. | 1906-1907 The "School mother" (great educational institutions in the Kingdom of Poland). |
| 1906 Representatives of Poland in the Duma and the Council of Empire. | 1906 Society of Polish merchants at Warsaw. | |
| | 1906 Society of co-operators at Warsaw. | |
| | 1906 Law permitting the formation of professional trade-unions in the Russian Empire. | |
| 1906-1907 Religious instruction in Polish forbidden in Prussian Poland; School strike of 100,000 children. | | |
| 1907 Motion of the Poles in the Duma on the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland. | 1907 Foundation of the central agricultural Association in the Kingdom of Poland. | 1906 Foundation of the Wilno Science Association. |

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| <p>1907 Reaction in Russia. Concessions of 1905 withdrawn. Number of deputies for the Kingdom of Poland reduced from 37 to 12.</p> | <p>1909 Federation of the Polish workmen's unions in Prussia.</p> | <p>1910 Celebration at Cracow of the 500th anniversary of the Polish victory over the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald. Over 100,000 Poles from all part of the former Republic of Poland affirm their unshaken national solidarity.</p> |
| <p>1908 In Prussian Poland Law of Expropriation against the Poles, restrictions on the employment of the Polish language at public meetings. The Prussian Colonization Funds increased by 275 million marks.</p> | <p>1910 Industrial Bank at Lwów.</p> | |
| | <p>1911 Union of Co-operative Societies of Consumption in the Kingdom of Poland.</p> | |
| | <p>1912 Purchase of the Warsaw - Vienna railway by the Russian Government and substitution of Russian for Polish employés.</p> | |
| <p>1908 First Universal Suffrage Elections in Galicia to the Austrian Parliament at Vienna.</p> | | |
| <p>1909 Local autonomous institutions (Zemstvos) in the six governments "of the West," with restrictions on the rights of Poles.</p> | | <p>1912 The Jerzmanowski Prize (The Polish Nobel Prize).</p> |
| <p>1910-1914 Debates in the legislative bodies at Petersburg, concerning urban autonomy in the Kingdom of Poland.</p> | <p>1914 Polish Union of Co-operative Credit Associations in Prussian Silesia.</p> | <p>1913 Establishment, thanks to private generosity, of a public library at Warsaw.</p> |

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| <p>1912 Separation of the Government of Chelm from the Kingdom of Poland.</p> <p>1914 Reform of the electoral statute of the Galician Diet.</p> | | |

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Author Piltz, Erasmus (ed.)

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